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Engraved by W^m Barnard.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL HUGH MACKAY, of SCOWRY,

*Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland, during 1689 & 1690.
Colonel Commandant of the Scotch Brigade in the Service of
Holland, and a Privy Counsellor in Scotland.*

From an Original Picture in the Possession of Lord Reay.





MEMOIRS
OF THE
WAR CARRIED ON IN SCOTLAND
AND IRELAND.

M.DC.LXXXIX.—M.DC.XCI.

BY MAJOR GENERAL HUGH MACKAY,
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES.

WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH,
M.DCCC.XXXIII.

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My Lord

Supposing your Lo: at present if the Enemy
be in the neighbourhood I disgladd this by
a Label to know from that place or the
nearest quarter of our troops if Ramsey
be drawn out, what passes in that thire
having understanded by a letter from the Courcek
that the Rebels were fallen down to the
breaches of monteith and Bochender I left
the north as far as indernette well secured as
I do Aberdeen shire and intend southward
with Livingston Dragoons therfor beseeched
to send an officer express to meet me vpon the
way of Beken and for fare to let me know
the latest motion of the Enemy, and where
fences Drumlanrig hath together and where
about they are at present your Lo: may send
this to the Courcek to the end they may know
where I am, which is all apparent from

My Lord

of Melrhum the
15th Febr: 1690

your Lo: & most humble
and obedient servant

J. Mackay

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THE author of the following Memoirs was a younger son of Mackay of Scoury, a branch of the ancient and noble family of Mackay, Lord Reay, which has long enjoyed extensive possessions and much influence in the northern counties of Scotland.

He was born about the year 1640, and entered on the military profession soon after the Restoration in 1660, when he obtained his first commission as an ensign in the Royal Scots, at that time termed, from its commanding officer, Dumbarton's Regiment.

He some years afterwards accompanied this corps when it was sent to France by Charles II. to assist Louis XIV. in the war which the allied sovereigns declared in 1672 against the United Provinces. In the campaign which followed, Mackay was employed in the division of the army which, under the command of Marshall Turenne, overran the province of Gueldres, and captured most of the Dutch fortresses situated on the Meuse and Wahal. In the course of this service Mackay had the good fortune to be quartered at the small town of Bommel, in the house of a Dutch lady of noble family, the widow of

the Chevalier Arnold de Bie, to one of whose daughters he formed an attachment, and was soon afterwards united.

The influence of his wife's relations, added perhaps to a certain distaste for the cause in which the arms of England were then engaged, soon induced Mackay to change his service; and in the year 1673 or 1674, he resigned his commission in Dumbarton's regiment, and entered into the service of the United Provinces, in the Scotch-Dutch brigade, in which he obtained the same rank, that of captain, which he had held in his former corps.

In 1674 he was present at the battle of Seneff, when the army in which he was engaged, under the Prince of Orange, was defeated by the Prince of Conde; but the services of Mackay appear to have soon gained the notice and merited the confidence of his new commander. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of major in the service of the United Provinces, to which he, along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, attached themselves, when Charles II. was compelled by Parliament to reduce his army. When the command of one of the regiments into which this brigade was now formed became vacant, the Prince of Orange bestowed it upon Mackay, and, according to a tradition preserved in his family, his competitor on this occasion was Graham of Claverhouse, who, it is said, then left the Dutch service in disgust at the preference given to Mackay.

Some time about 1680, Mackay was promoted to the command of the whole brigade; and in 1685, on the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion, he was dispatched by the Prince of Orange, along with the corps under his command, to England, at the

desire of James II., to assist in suppressing the rebellion, which however was subdued before the auxiliaries were called into action. On this occasion Mackay revisited his native country for the first time after a long absence, and was advanced by James II. to the dignity of a privy councillor in Scotland. In the following year he returned to Holland; and in 1688, having along with most of the other officers of the Scotch brigade, refused to obey the summons of James II., commanding them to leave the service of the Prince of Orange and return home, Mackay, along with five other persons were declared traitors, and specially excepted from the general pardon afterwards promised by King James.

General Mackay was now embarked in the cause of the Revolution; and his services to the new government in pacifying Scotland, and subduing the Jacobites in Ireland during the two following years, are the subject of the memoirs and letters which are now for the first time printed and offered to the Club.

He returned to Holland soon after the government of King William was finally established in Ireland by the capitulation of Limerick in 1691.

In the campaign of 1692, he was appointed to command the English forces which served in the army of King William in Flanders; but here, as in Ireland, it was the misfortune of Mackay to be placed by his sovereign under the command of foreign officers of no higher reputation, and of less military skill than himself. At the battle of Steinkirk, he remonstrated against the dispositions made by the commander-in-chief, the Count of Solmes, for the action, and in particular against the

desperate duty which his own brigade was ordered to perform with a very inadequate force. His remonstrances were unsuccessful, and Mackay marched into the battle with the feelings of a brave man who saw that his own life and those of his companions in arms were about to be sacrificed by the rashness and obstinacy of their commander. He was mortally wounded early in the action, and three thousand of his men, of the English brigade, were left dead upon the field.

Although Mackay succeeded in early life to the family estate of Scoury, in consequence of the untimely death of his two elder brothers, he does not appear ever to have visited it after his first departure from Scotland. And the desire which he expresses in several passages of his letters and memoirs to return to Holland where he had established his family, shows that he looked upon his adopted country as his home in preference to the land of his birth.

He had issue, by his marriage with Clara de Bie, one son and three daughters. His descendants in the male line came to an end in the year 1775, on the death of his grandson, a Lieutenant-General in the Dutch service, and Colonel of the brigade which had formerly been commanded by his grandfather. His eldest daughter became the wife of George, third Lord Reay, and left descendants who still survive.

Mackay is mentioned more than once by Bishop Burnet, as the most pious soldier whom he had ever known, and is commended for the care which he took to enforce the observance of strict discipline and attention to religious exercises among the men under his command. A curious illustration of this may be found in the book of Rules of War, published for the use of the

army in Scotland,* which being now rather rare, the editors believe that they will do an acceptable service to the club, by re-printing in this place, the conclusion of that work, which exhibits in a singularly beautiful and interesting manner this part of his character.

“LASTLY, When all Dispositions are made, and the Army waiting for the signal, to move towards the Enemy, both Officers and Souldiers, ought seriously to recommend (together with their Souls and Bodys) the care and protection of the cause for which they so freely exposē their Lives, to GOD, Who over-ruleth the Deliberations and Councils, Designs and Enterprizes of his Creatures, and of whose blessing alone the success of all Undertakings doth depend, which they may do in these or the like words :

A P R A Y E R.

O Almighty KING of Kings, and LORD of Hosts, which by thy Angels thereunto appointed, doſt Minister both War and Peace; Thou ruleſt and commandeft all things, and ſitteſt in the Throne judging right; And therefore we make our addrefſes to Thy Divine MAJESTY in this our neceſſity, that Thou wouleſt take us and our Cause into Thine Own Hand and judge between us and our Enemies, stir up Thy Strength, O LORD, and come and help us, for Thou giveſt not alwayes the Battel to the Strong, but canſt ſave by Many or by Few. O let not our fins now cry againſt us for Vengeance, but hear us, Thy poor ſervants, beggiug mercy, and imploring Thy help, and that Thou wouleſt be a Defence for us againſt the Enemy. Make it appear, that Thou art our Saviour, and Mighty Deliverer, Through JESUS CHRIST Our LORD. Amen.”

* The edition of this work here quoted is entitled, “ Rules of War for the Infantry, ordered to be obſerved by their Majesties’ Subjects encouſtning with the Enemy upon the day of Battel. Written by Lieutenant General MACKAY, and Recommended to All (as well Officers as Soldiſrs,) of the Scots and English Army. In xxiii Articles. Published by his Excellencies Secretary.” It is licenceſ by Edm. Bohun, and “ Reprinted at Edinburgh, by John Reid in 1693.”

The Memoirs, which are now printed for the first time, are preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, in a small volume in quarto, written in a fair distinct hand, apparently by some amanuensis or secretary, employed by the General. The French letters which are addressed to the King, and to the Earl of Portland, are contained in the same volume, and they are preceded by a title page, as represented in the work now printed at page 169, with the addition of the following words:—“*Recueilly et fidelement extrait des escrits du susdit Monsieur de Mackay. A Bommel 1702.*” As neither the Memoirs nor these Letters have any pretensions to the character of autograph writings, the editors have, in this part of the work, taken the liberty to arrange the punctuation, (which is generally very incorrect in the MS.) according to their own judgment, and occasionally to modernise the spelling, where it has been apparently vitiated by the blunders of an incorrect copyist or secretary, perhaps imperfectly acquainted with the language in which he was writing. In making, however, these alterations, they have taken care not to change a single word, nor to alter the spelling where it appeared to be that which the writer habitually uses, and not to proceed from carelessness or error in transcribing. In arranging the punctuation they have found greater difficulty, as the style of the sentences is often diffuse and involved, and there is consequently sometimes considerable ambiguity, and doubt with regard to the exact meaning.

The letters which form the appendix, and are perhaps the most valuable and interesting portion of the work, have been communicated to the editors by the Earl of Leven and Melville, of whose ample and valuable collection of family papers, the ori-

ginals form a part, and the club is indebted to his Lordship for his permission so liberally given to print these documents along with this edition of the Memoirs. It is to be hoped that the interest excited by these letters may be sufficient to induce his Lordship to make public a more extensive selection of the stores in his possession of letters and papers which would form valuable illustrations of the history of Scotland during the seventeenth century. As these letters, now first printed, are all original and autograph writings of the persons whose names they bear, the editors have taken care in this portion of the work to preserve exactly the orthography of the MSS.

The editors are indebted to Lord Reay for the frontispiece which accompanies this volume, being an engraving from an original portrait of General Mackay, in his Lordship's possession, executed by his orders, and presented by him to the editors of the present volume.

The thanks of the editors are also due to John Mackay, Esq., the present representative in the male line of the family of Scoury, to whose researches respecting the history of his illustrious kinsman, they are chiefly indebted for the particulars which are related in the above notice of his life.

Edinburgh, March 1833.

MEMOIRES TOUCHING THE SCOTS WAR
CARRIED ON FOR THEIR MAJESTIES, BY
MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY, AGAINST THE
VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, AND AFTER HIM
CANNON, AND AT LAST MAJOR GENERAL
BUCHAN, FOR THE LATE KING JAMES

M.DC.LXXXIX.

MEMOIRS OF THE SCOTS WAR. &c.

ALL the Nobility and gentry of the Scots Nation then at London being met together at Whitehall, to consult of the next best measures to be taken (after King James retreat into France) for the government of that kingdom, agreed to offer the administration thereof to the then Prince of Orange, our present sovereign, untill a general convention of the states thereof should resolve what further were to be done, which convention was to meet in the month of March ensuing.

His highness having accepted of the government, gave orders for the breaking of some new levies on foot in that kingdom, together with the company entertained by the city of Edinburgh, apparently as not making much state upon their affection to the cause in hand.

The Crowns of England, France and Ireland, being devolved upon their Majesties, the King, by the bad humour, suddenly discovered in the major part of the late King Jamess forces, and the necessity of returning some thousands of the Dutch troops to their own country again, as well as of retaining the rest of them in England, to secure his new got possession, would not take all the requisite measures for the security of Scotland and Ireland ; nevertheless, apprehending disorders in the former, if

the convention should fit without any forces to countenance and support his party, the King resolved to send Major General Mackay to Scotland, with the three Scots regiments come out of Holland, viz. his oun, Brigadier Balfours and Colonel Ramsays, notwithstanding, the said Major General was then very indisposid for such an expedition, not being recovered of a great fickness wherby he had been attacked shortly after his landing in England, but willing to contribute his utmost endeavours for the advancement of so good a cause, embraced the command ; and having obtained shipping, with some arms for new levies, and what ammunition could be spared, he imbarked the said regiments much about the midle of March, and arrived in Scotland eight or ten days thereafter.

The convention having sat some days before the Major-Generals arrival, the Ld. Dundee, with the Bishops, and severals of the disaffected members of the convention formed a design to seize such members of the convention as were for their Majesties, as was probably conjectured by the Duke of Gordon's refusel to deliver up the Castle upon his Majesty's order, as he had offered formerly to do, and Dundee's bringing to and lodging about toun betwixt three and fourscore horse of his late regiment, deserted out of England.

One George Hamilton of Binny, a gentleman very well affected for their Majesties and the Protestant Court, with communication of the Duke of that name, presidint to the Convention, got four hundred well armed citizens of Glasgow to Edinburgh, which he so lodged about the Parliament House, that the adverse party found no security in the enterprize, besides these the Convention ordered the Earle of Levin to beat drums for volunteers, till the forces which they expected with the Major-General were arrived, and the Earle of Argile got in some of his Highlanders. Mean time Dundee seing nothing to be advanced by his longer stay at Edinburgh, and apprehending that he should be feized, or, (as he alleged thereafter by a letter to the Convention), assasinated by the west country-men, to revenge his rigorous usgafe of them during the late reigns, retired with the forementiond horse, after he had spoke a considerale

time with the Duke of Gordon without the West-Port of Edinburgh, apparently concerning his resolution to draw speedily to arms.

In this condition things stood, when Major-General Mackay (whom we shall henceforth, for brevity's sake, call General, being the chief commander of the forces of that kingdom, as well as of those whom his Majesty had given him out of England) arrived upon Leith-road: who, having informed himself of the state of affairs in that kingdom, disembarked his men, not passing eleven hundred, (the king having taken away their old Dutch soldiers out of these three regiments), and being informed that the Convention had not continued King William, then of England, in the administration of the government of Scotland, he forebore to make use of his instructions from his Majesty; but desired to act in concert with the said Convention, in so far as their commands should agree with their Majesties interest; in which he found the Duke Hamilton, very forward and zealous, though others would gladly have persuaded otherwise of the Duke's conduct, who, no question, did it, as considering that his parts and quality would eclipse them, and frustrate their designs, if the king had once a good opinion of the Duke, so as to put entire trust in him.

Dundee being retired from the Convention, together with several other Jacobites, a summons was sent them to appear against a certain day, upon pain of being declared rebels and fugitives. Dundee answered the summons by a very disrespectful letter to the Convention, upon which he was denounced a rebel.

At this time the General had sent some companies to Stirling, and because he did not much trust the Earle of Mar, heritable governour of that Castle, nor would not willingly let him know that he jealous'd him, upon pretext of an additional company lately levied, to reinforce the garrison of the Castle, where there were many of the deserters of Colonel Buchans regiment, he got the Earle persuaded to receive a guard of fiftie men, with a captain, to be dayly relieved into the Castle, which captain, because the officers of the Castle were but subalterns, should command during his guard in the Earle's absence. By which invention, that first

post of the kingdom was by fair means, without giving offence or suspicion to the Earle, secured for their Majestys service.

The General, immediately upon his landing, distributed money to the three Scots regiments, which we shall henceforth, for distinction, call Dutch, to make them up each to 1200, as also to the Earle of Levin, to levie of 780 men, according to his Majestys order: and finding the disposition of that kingdom tending to a civil war by the retreat of the Lord Dundee, with severall other noblemen and members of the Convention, as was touched above, as well as by the combination of severals of the Highland clans for their mutual defence, being afraid of the rising fortune and apparent favour of the Earle of Argyle, under the present government, who had considerable pretensions upon their estates, besides, that some of them had part of his estate in possession, by a gift of the late King, under whose reign the Earls father had been forfeited; judging, I say, that those dispositions would tend to a rebellion, and not questioning but what was at the root, self-interest and preservation, as well in Dundee, with the other offended members of the Convention, as in the combined Highlanders, would be pretended King Jamess interest: to make their party the more formidable, dispatched an exprefs to Sr. Thomas Livingfton to haften his march to Scotland, as also to the Lord Colchefters regiment of horse. But this latter, being countermanded, after the revolted battalion of Dumbartons regiment, came not down till the matter of a month thereafter. Upon Sir Thomas Livingftons arrival, the General commanded him to Stirling and adjacents, both to secure that paſs with the foot they had ſent thither at his diſbarkment under Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, and to be ſo much nearer the province of Angus, where Dundee lay with the matter of 60 or 70 horse of his former regiment; the General, at his arrival, had ordered a trench to be made about that part of the Caſle of Edinburgh, which lies towards the country, to hinder the communication of intelligence and provisions, with the Duke of Gordon, after he had diſcovered his intentions to hold it out, and placed guards and entries towards the city to the ſame purpose; it being impoſſible and

vain to undertake any thing else, both by reason of the small number of the forces, with the want of cannon, bombs, and other ingredients, for an attack, and the natural strength of the Castle rendering it very difficult to be attacked with prospect of good and speedy success.

Dundee, as was touched above, having, by an uncivil letter to the Convention, discovered his intention of taking arms, the General ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to fall in to the province of Angus, with instructions how to hinder his forming of a party, to surprise his horse, and seize his person, if possible, and to lodge his own dragoons, so that Dundee's horse should not affront him.

The Convention taking into consideration the untoward humours of many of the nobility and gentry, the combination of the Highland clans who apprehended the Earle of Argyles appearing greatness, and the general disaffection of the northern provinces, as well as of the borders, and of several of the chieftain corporations of the kingdom, not excepting Edinburgh, whereof the greater part of the inhabitants appeared not well pleased with the late happy, and for the general interest of the Protestant religion, as well as the liberty of Europe, so necessary a revolution, resolved to levy upon Scots pay 6000 foot in ten regiments, 12 troops of horse, making 600, and a regiment of 300 dragoons; and, accordingly, distributed commissions to such noblemen and gentlemen as did undertake to levy them, with levy-money, giving power to the colonels, as well as to the captains of horse, to make all their officers, whereby it fell out that those troops never came to any perfection, tho during the first six or seven months very punctually paid, because the chief officers, being all noblemen of no service, chose the officers of their regiments and troops, according as they had a kindness for their persons, or as they judged them popular, to get a number of men together, to the disorder of those troops, helping not a little, that the General found himself presently engaged in the war, so that he could neither see them, nor give order for their composition or discipline.

Towards the 20th of April, Sir Thomas Livingston, according to his

instructions, having formed a design to surprize Dundee in a country house of his, called Glenogilby, tho very well, and secrely led on, was nevertheless disapointed by the retreat of the said Dundee, the day before Sir Thomas came out of his quarter, upon whose advertisement to the General, then at Edinburgh, of his mislukt design, and the Lord Dundees motion to the north, the General judging his prefence at that time more necessary to dissipate those first appearances against their Majesties government, (being by that time declared King and Queen of Scotland), in the north, then at Edinburgh, particularly since the Convention was to be adjourned till the Kings return and pleasure, both as to the acceptation of the Croun, and the changing of the Convention to a Parliament shoud come down, he communicated his design to Duke Hamilton, who judged it were sufficient to send an other: But the General judging the consequence of letting Dundee, who wanted not his arguments, to persuade men to his measures, play his personage among the nobility and gentry of the north, and knowing that all the Duke of Gordons interest, which is considerable in command of men, would joyn with him as one man, having dispatched the Master of Forbes eldest son to the Lord of that name, who alſo hath a pretty command of men, and is no friend to Gordon, to oppoſe the first endeavours of Dundee, and labour to disabate the inhabitants of the northern provinces, and overturn Dundees persuasions, as well as his endeavours to form a party, resolved, upon the first advertisement from the said Master (to whom he had given written instructions how to believe in thoſe matters), to march northward himself with what ſmall number of forces he would ſpare from the ſiege of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, with the ſecurity of the government, and that of Stirling; in order to which reſolution he had ſent reiterat orders to Colcheſters regiment to haſt on their march to Scotland; which, accordingly, arriving about this time, the General ſeeing them much fatigued, and their horſes ſpoyleſ in their backs, choſe 120 only of the regiment, the Major and two captains, and ſent them to the province of Angus, upon his road to the north, whither he ſent alſo 200 choſen firelocks of

the three Dutch regiments, judging he would spare no more for that expedition, and to the end he might press Dundee on all hands, he communicated his design to the Marquis of Athole, who made many protestations of his affection to their Majesties, King William and Queen Marys interest, as well as to that of the Protestant religion, representing to him, that readily, if he would follow his advice as a man who wished well to his person and family, he should by the said Generals progress to the north find occasion to give the King, (to whom, as all of them said, he being unknown as to their inclinations and affection to his government, as yet they could not expect sudden marks of his royal favour), such a convincing proof of his zeal to his service in the beginning of his reign, as he would find the advantageous effects of, during the whole course thereof; whom finding disposed to follow his directions, he appointed to order his baillie, or some in whom he would repose trust, to have in a body 400 of his best Highlanders to pass upon Dundee, who, retiring before the General, would readily pass by some part of his Highland countries, which proposition the Marquis relished well, and as the General discovered him afterward to have done, tho' too late, to manage Athole for the behoof of their Majesties service, who, being betrayed by his baillie, the General concluded, (by the free passage and kindly reception of Dundee thorough his country, and other behaviour of his people, contrary to their Majesties service), that he had falsified his parole, and playd double game, which made him also both represent to the government, and consider the Marquis thereafter as such; by which means he had been lost for the service, who had he been got thoroughly engaged in it, would contribute as much to the speedy settlement of the kingdom in peace, as any subject in Scotland.

The General engaged the Earle of Mar also, to cause observe Dundee with 3 or 400 Highlanders about the braes or height of the province of Marr, where he was very likely to pass; for about this time Mar began to change in favour of their Majesties interest and service; and likewise he ordered the Laird of Grant, a person of a considerable estate and High-

land interest, and following, to make all diligence to the north, and not only to hinder the passage of his own country, called Strathspey, from the Lord Dundee, but also to cause guard all the foords of Spey, which he might easily have done, had he used diligence, and followed his directions; but instead of that, Grant stayed some days after the General at Edinburgh, while he believed him before him to the north: which wrong step of his was certainly without any design of prejudice to the service, tho' highly punishable, had he been a man of service.

For Dundee, being prest by the Generals approach, past into Murray just where Grant had orders to oppose his passage, and the Earle of Mar fickned immediately, whereof he also died shortly thereafter; so proved that project, (which, had those three acted with diligence and understanding according to their orders, could not readily have failed to take effect), ineffectual by the Marquis of Atholes Baillies treason, who, instead of putting his master's orders against Dundee in execution, sent the Marquis order, with assurance of his assistance: by the Earle of Mars fickness and death, which was the occasion, that the country of that name joyned under Colonel Murrey in the rebellion; and by the Laird of Grants too long stay, contrary to his orders at Edinburgh, about affairs of less moment.

It is necessary to remember, that all this time the General could not regulate himself by the Kings instructions, but rather by order of the Convention, which, immediately upon his landing, conferred upon him the General command of all the forces of the kingdom, raised and to be raised, which he made no difficulty to accept of, tho' he had no particular instruction for it from the King, being sure his Majestie would be well satisfied since the Convention had not continued him in the administration of the government as that of England had done, that he, to whom his Majestie intrusted the service of that kingdom for him, should be also intrusted by them during their sovereignty, with the chief command of the forces whereof they had ordered the levie.

Meantime arms had been distributed to the Presbyterians of the west

country, who sheued themselves of all the kingdom the most zealous for their Majesties' government and the Protestant interest ; and the most popular and leading men among them came to wait on the General, and gave him from time to time account of their matters, who encouraged them in their method of forming themselves in companies, and continuing their weekly excercises of the handling their arms, whereof, so far as the government could not do it, they provided themselves, so zealous they were for the cause.

In this posture things stood in Scotland, when the Convention had formed their embassie to offer the Crown to their Majesties, and resolved to adjourn themselves for some weeks, forming a committee of estates for the administration of the government, untill their Majesties should have accepted of the Crown, or that they shoud fitt again.

The General, as was touched above, finding not much present busines to do in the south, tho the government was not without apprehension of an invasion from Ireland, and believing he might in a short time frustrate the practices of Dundee in the north, which he had certainly effectuated, and so disheartned the ennemys of the government at their very first undertakings, could he have carried along with him but 2000 good men : but his small number, whereof, as afterwards appeared, a considerable part was traitors, together with the promises of succours from King James encouraged them ; consideringe, I say, that his presence was most necessary, where the first appearances of troubles did shew themselves, left the command of Edinburgh to Brigadier Balfour, writing to Major General Laniere, that he judged his coming to Edinburgh, during his absence in the north, for their Majesties service, went to Dunde, one of the chief touns of the province, called Angus, where he had ordered the rendezvous of his party, with which, tho but small, he hoped to hinder the grouth of that of the disaffected, and chase Dundee, if he durst not venture in action with him, out of those places where he expected most junction, and so at least train things till the recruits and levies were pretty far advanced : Having joyned his party at Dunde,

composed of 120 English horse, of the Lord Colchesters regiment four troops, of Sir Thomas Livingstons regiment of dragoons, leaving the other troops at Dunde, with Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, to keep the province of Angus in awe, which was very disaffected, and 200 of the three Dutch regiments, in all not exceeding 450 men, he marched to Brechin, where he halted that night, making a detachement of 50 foot, and as many dragoons, under command of his nepheu, Major Mackay, to Levington, ordering him to feize upon the Northwater bridge, the ordinary paſſage to Fettercairn, where he was to halt till nixt morning, taking ſpecial care he permitted none to paſſ before him, and to fall into the village a little before or at the break of day, keeping the half of his party in body, and ranging the houſes with the reſt, in cafe, as the General had ſome intelligence, that Dundee with his party, might be lodged there that night, knowing nothing as yet of his motion northward, which had certainly fallen out, if a certain officer, as was ſuspected, going to levie a company in the north, and had ſeen the General paſſ the ferrie at Dunde, had not adverтиſed the Lord Dundee thereoſ, as he was within eight miles to Fettercairn, where he deſigned to lodge that fame night that the General ſent out Major Mackay to furprise his quarters, if he hapned to be there.

The ſecond day the General finding among the party of English horse but 40 that could paſſ the hills, left the Major, who was fickly, with 80 horse at Brechin, all fore backed and in diſorder, and marched with the reſt of his party to Fettercairn, where, having underſtood from Major Mackay how Dundee, being advanced within 7 or 8 miles to that place, had turned another way, upon the news of his being abroad, but no certainty whether back again to the north, or whether he had taken the way up Strathdee, Brae-mar, and fo into Glenſhee, by which way he could enter into the province of Angus again behind the General, which obliged him (notwithstanding he was very impatient to be near him before he fortified his party) to make an halt at Fettercairn at the foot of the hills which ſeparate the ſouthern from the northern provinces of Scotland,

called in history the Grampian Hills, till he should have certain notice what way Dundee had taken, and for that end dispatched several poor countrymen, with money in hand, (and a promise of more at their return, with fure intelligence), upon country horses after him towards both the ways which he might have taken, who brought notice that Dundee, having understood the Generals motion, made a feint as if he passed by Brae-mar towards the south into Angus, but that after some miles march he had turned down towards Strathdone and Strathbogy, being the Duke of Gordons lands, which he, with the Earle of Dumfermling, married to the Dukes sister, laboured to raze in rebellion.

Upon which advice the General marched over the hills, purfuing his way the whole night till he had paſt the river Dee at Kincardin, where he had certain news of the ennemy, (as we may henceforth call him), by an expref from the Maſter of Forbes, who nixt day met him with the matter of 40 gentlemen of his name on horse, and about 5 or 600 country foot, who were fo ill armed, and appeared fo little like the work, that the General, thanking the Maſter for his appearance for their Majesties ſervice, ordered him to diſmiss those countrymen, with orders to be ready to come together whenever any ennemy party threatned their own province, defiſing the ſaid Maſter to beſtir himſelf as much as he could, and make as many friends for the government, with aſſurance of his effectuall recommendations to the King in his favour, which the Maſter alſo did obſerve very zealously, contributing all along, together with Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſlie, to keep two conſiderable and very diſaffeſted provinces in awe, under the obedience of their Majesties government, whereof wee ſhall have occaſion to touch ſomething hereafter.

The General, being advanced the lenth of Strathbogy, got notice that Dundee had paſt Spey 12 miles from Strathbogy, whom, tho his party was much weakeſed, he refolved to purſue hotly, to give him no time, either to draw to his party, by his cunning, ſuch as had not declared themſelves, or draw to thoſe plain countries the combined Highlanders, and to force thoſe that had no mind to it to take arms with them: nixt

day then, being on his march towards the river of Spey, a gentleman brought him a letter, writ by the Lord Dundee, from besides Inuerneſſ, ſignifying to the Magiſtrates of Elgin in Murray, a country open toun, fix miles on the other fide Spey, that he had met accidentally with one Colonel Macdonald, with 900 or 1000 brisk Highlanders, with whom he intended to meet Mackay, or return the chafe upon him; and therefor desired to make quarters for that number of foot beſides his horſe, for that he intended to be with them nixt day, that is to ſay, the fame day the General got it, which letter, the Magiſtrates hearing of his approach, ſent him, being unwilling to receive a viſit from ſuſh hungry queſts, who kept at that time Inuerneſſ blockt up, to force them to a composition, to which, being but an open country toun, they agreed, buying off the hazard of ane attack at the loſs of a little money.

The news of this unexpected junctiōn of ſuſh a party of Highlanders with Dundee, put the General at firſt to ſome nonplus what reſolution to take, for he conſidered that it would be matter of the laſt conſequence for their Majefties ſervice, conſidering the diſmal number of forces at that time in the kingdom, if he ſhould happen to be beat. Of which advantage the ennemy would not fail to profit, becauſe the whole north, by fair or foul means, would declare for him, there being nothing, particularly in the north, to oppoſe them, if that finall handfull were rousted: and on the other hand, the retiring ſouthward, yea, the halting at Spey would give time and occaſion to Dundee to render himſelf master of Inuerneſſ, as well as of Elgin, with the provinces of Murray, Roſſ and Caithneſſ, which were moſtly affeeted to that party, beſide the affront and diſadvantage it would be to the government to be ſo early upon the deſenſive. Those conſiderations then thus weighed, and the General reſlying upon ſome ſuccours out of the province of Sutherland, which he knew to be well affeeted to their Majefties and the Protestant intereſt, as well as from the Lairds of Balnagown, chief of the Roſſes, and the Laird of Grant, both gentlemen of a conſiderable command of men, and well affeeted, reſolved to puſh forward, and inſtead of loſegeing, as he had determined

before he had received the foresaid letter at Spey, to take his quarter that night at Elgin, where the inhabitants expected Dundee with his Highlanders, dispatching an exprefs with orders to the English horse, which he left at Brechin, to paſſ the hills, and follow him in all possible diligence, being very well ſatified to ſee his ſmall party ſo defirous of action, that the 200 old foot he had with him kept the horſe and dragoons at the trott for feuen miles betwixt Spey and Elgin, where he arrived with ſo much day, that he had time to view the ground, and poſt his guards in advantageous places, reſolving to halt there till the reſt of the horſe ſhould join him, dispatching preſently well affected perſons of the country towards Inuerneſſ, both to encourage the inhabitants to ſtand firm to the government, with aſſurance of ſpeedy relief, and to get news of the enmy, fending at the ſame time meſſengers to adverteſe the Earle of Sutherlands men, with thoſe of the Lord Rae, Balnagown and Grant, to be in readineſſ to march with their beſt arms upon his firſt orders.

Mean time the General ſent orders to all the heritors of Murray to appear with their beſt horſes and arms after the uſual way, when they were called out for the Kings ſervice, but their appearance teſtified uſſiciently, that they were not ſo fond of the change as might be reaſonably expeſted of men ſo newly delivered from the greateſt of all evils, temporal and eternal flavery, the leaſt whereof was ſufficient to make the heathens venture all, rather than ſubmit to it. But Scotland was at this time ſufficiently prepared for the yoke, both by the popiſh deſign, for the introduction whereof the laws muſt needs be removed out of the way, which proved an obſtacle by the clergy, which, to favour ſuſh deſigns, muſt be choſen, ſuſh as would preach what might ſerve to the purpoſe, and by the miſtiers of ſtate, particularly the ſecreſaries, who follow cloſely (and refine at every change according to the capacity of the perſon) upon Lauderdaleſ maxim of governing that kingdom by abſolute power, to which the Kings abſence, who can know nothing of the affairs thereof, but as they are repreſented unto him, no more than they would be repre-

fented; but by his secretary giveth occasion, and which can never be absolutely remedied, tho the King or Queen in being, have no design but their peoples happiness, being always necessarily absent till there come such a happy age as shall produce ministers of state, administrators of justice, men fearing God and hating covetousnes, or that Scotland be united with England, whereby their kings may have a clearer view of their matters, and the occasion of men's oppression to make up their own families be removed. But we shall leave this subiect to the learned, only adding in general, that in all the progreses and marches of the General benorth Tay, he testified to have remarked no true fence of the deliverance which God had sent them, except in very few, and that the people in general were disposed to submit to, and embrace the party which they judged most like to carry it, their zeal for the preservation of their goods going by them, far beyond the consideration of religion and liberty, which he attributed to their gross ignorance occasioned by the negligence of their ministers, as well as the large extent of their parishes, which made most of them come seldom to church, besides, that the doctrine urged mostly implicate obedience to the higher powers, without distinction or limitation, whether it was not more lawfull to obey God than men, when their commands meet in opposition, nor whether a prince can be called the higher power, without having the legislative as well as the executive part of the government in himself alone.

The General having got up his fourscore English horse, marched straight towards Inuerneſs, dispatching the Laird of Grant, who had joined him at Elgin, after he had been two days there, to his own country to have the men thereof in arms, in case he might have occasion to call for him, and ordered the Lord Raes [] (he himself being a child) to send under two principall gentlemen thereof, 200 chosen men, and the Laird of Balnagown, an 100 to Inuerneſs provisionally, till he saw how matters would dispose themselves: being then arrived at Forres, he got news that Dundee was retired into the Highlands from before Inuerneſs, not willing to hazard in action, so he continued his way thither, where he

met Balnagown with great protestations of his affection to the Protestant cause and their Majesties government, which he also made appear thereafter, by his readiness to comply with such as commanded in those northern parts their Majesties forces, having then got into Inuerness, together with his own party, some 4 or 500 men of the forementioned families, which were only those he could make fte upon. He ordered the pallisading of all the avenues and entries with the principal streets of the town, and made a review of the inhabitants, which he found to be about 300 well armed and resolved men for the defence of their toun: He ordered also the Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant to levy their regiments, for which they had taken commissions, with all speed, and to arm so many of them as they could, with such arms as ususually Highlanders make use of, most of them being of that fort of people. Mean time he fummoned the chief heritors of the Earle of Seaforthis family, which is considerable, as well as of the Lord Lovets, the former, called the Mackenzies, and those latter the Frazers, to know how they were disposofed for the present government, to come to him to Inuerness, but found them partly disaffected, and partly irresolute and indifferent, and all of them more apparent to joyn againft than with him; which the General confidering, together with the weaknes of his party, and judging that not only his reputation, but the intereſt of the service would greatly fuffer if he shouſd return fouth without leaving that country in a more settled condition, he diſpatched an exprefſ to Colonel Balfour, commanding in chief, the forces in the fouth, ordering him to diſpatch Colonel Ramsay with 600 chofen men of the three Dutch regiments, (ſuppoſing them by that time pretty far advanced in their reſruits) with officers conform, and for his more ſpeedy junction, ordered him to come the ſhorter cutt over Athole and Badenoch, in which latter country the General was to meet him, to ſecure his march in caſe Dundee, with the Lochaber men, ſhould form a deſign upon him in his march.

Balfour having received the General's orders, made the detachment under Colonel Ramsay, diſpatching him preſently forward, but by miſ-

fortune, or rather providence, whose directions are above our reach, a fleet of Hollands herring bushes appeared upon the coast at the mouth of the Frith, the same day Ramsay was busie to passe his detachement over from Leith to Bruntisland, which the government supposing to be a French invasion, being greatly alarmed, countermanded Ramsay, till they had discovered the truth of the matter, which hindred him two or three days, and proved the occasion of all the difficulties and hazard for the service, wherewith the General had to wrestle with a small handfull of men for two or three months thereafter, mean time he laboured to have continual news of Dundee and the Highlanders.

A little before the General went to the north, happening in discourse with the Viscount of Tarbat, touching the Highland combination, and willing to know what might be the true ground or motive thereof, was informed by the said Viscount, that it was neither the love of King James, nor hatred of King William, which moved them to it, or at least some of the wifest of them, as Lochiel Chief of the Camerons, whose cunning engaged others, who were not so much interested in his quarrel, but that it was out of the apprehension of the Earle of Argyles appearant restauration and favour, whose predecessors, during their greatness, had always quarrels with almost all the families of the Macdonalds, to the extirpation and ruin of a great many of them, and because Lochiel had some of the late Earle of Argyles lands, which were forfeited in the reign of King Charles, by a gift of King James in possession, and that severals of those combined Highlanders did hold their lands of the Earle, these were the most apparent occasions of the Highland combination at first; tho after their junction with Dundee, being supported with the hopes of an invasion out of Ireland, and more by the devisions which shortly shewed themselves in Parliament, splitting the party which appeared the most zealous at first for their Majesties government, upon the account of the session, whether out of tenderness for the common interest of the subject, or self-design, I leave it there, the subsequent behaviour of that called the country party, making the latter seem the more probable, it was pre-

tended for King James, but certain it is, that it may be easily demonstrated, that the Court party (as it was called) drove their own more than the court interest, as happily, we shall have occasion to touch in the following relation: so that, on all sides, self-interest lay at the bottom.

The said Viscount of Tarbat proposed to the General a way which seemed to him likely enough to satisfy the Highlanders, so as that they should not trouble their Majesties government, viz. that the King should pay of all Argyles pretensions, not surpassing, as he affirmed, L.5000 Sterling, excepting Macklean, for which, if the rest were brought off a medium might be found also upon the foot, that the late Earle of Argyle had formerly condescended; which proposition the General liked so well, that he wrote of it to the Earle of Portland, from whom he also received an answer signifying, that the King was well pleased with the overture, and that the Viscount of Tarbat should see to get it adjusted: which letter, with one of his own, the General sent to the said Viscount, having received it upon his march to the north, but, as he was informed afterward, instead of employing Tarbat in that transaction with the Highlanders, touching Argyles pretensions, the government pitched upon the Laird of Calder, a Campbell to his name, and kinsman to the Earle of Argyle, in whom the Highlanders concerned, could not be supposed to repose so much trust, nor did his behaviour in after times, testify much that he meant very sincerely with the government, tho a privy counsellor. However, the General, during his abode in the North, having known the Kings mind as to the Viscount of Tarbats proposition, wrote to Lochiel at two several times, but had no return, notwithstanding that he proposed fairly to him under the present government; he wrote also to a gentleman, chief of one of the families of the Macdonalds, called Glengary, who returned him a civil answer, but instead of hearkning to his propositions, proposed to him the example of General Monck to imitate, who restored King Charles: which broke clearly off all further thoughts and endeavours of accommodation by the General.

Dundee, as was touched above, being retired upon the Generals motion

from Elgin towards Inuerness into the Highlands, after he had confulted with some of the chiefs of the Highland clans, and draun assurances by letters from such as lay at further distance of their adherence to him and King James interest, having given them a time and place of rendezvous, paffed with his horfe at that time to the number of fourscore thorough the heights or braes of Badenoch into Athole, where he was friendly received by the gentlemen of that country, particularly by the Marquisis baillie, or fteward of his lands, called Stuart of Balleachan ; from whence he marched to Perth, where he surprized the Laird of Blair, captain of horfe, with his lieutenant, and two other foot officers, which he carried prisoners in all his marches for the matter of six weeks thereafter, fending them afterward to the Isle of Mull, where Blair, a gentleman of good consideration and zealous for the preſent government, after a great deal of ill and barbarous uſage, died.

Dundee having ranged ſome days through the province of Angus and Perth, (both very ill affected,) and got the number of his horfe augmented, which was his principal errand there, and braved two troops of Levingſtons dragoons, left at Dunde under the lieutenant-colonel thereof, by which occaſion he ſhewed, that he was either a traitor or a coward ; for notwithstanding, he was at leaſt as ſtrong as Dundee, and his horfe in better cafe, he did not budge out of the toun ; after, I ſay, Dundee had paſt ſome four days to fortify his body of horfe with ſome gentlemen, and their fervants which joined him, he retired into the Highlands by the ſame way he came, which made the General conclude that Athole play'd foul play, and falſified his engagement at their parting to him : Therefor conſidering his country henceforeward as ennemys, he diſpatched feveral exprefſes to meet Ramsay with direcſion how to order his march, according as he ſhould be informed of Dundees motion, judging, according to his intelligence, that if Ramsay ſhould follow his orders, ſo as to have marched immeadiately after Balfour had received command to detach him, he might eaſily paſs all hazard of being intercepted by Dundee, before he could have aſſembled a ſufficient party to dare undertake it : and for the men of

Athole, besides that they had not openly declared themselves as yet, the Marquis with his eldest son being at Edinburgh. The General judged Ramsays party, such as he had ordered it, sufficient to secure their passage through that country, but being stopped (as was touched above) upon the alarm of the Hollands fishers two or three days, and the Generals messengers party being returned back for fear of the Atholemen, and the last of them being intercepted by the forementioned Stuart of Balleachan, kept prisoner in the Marquis's house three days, and the Generals letter sent to Dundee ; Ramsay, after he had advanced within twelve miles of the place where the General had promised to meet him with his party to secure their junction, seeing the men of Athole in arms as he marched through their country, tho they attempted nothing upon him, who magnified extremely Dundees Highland forces, which they affirmed, tho falsely, were betwixt him and the General, from whom he received no late advertisement ; withall being altogether a stranger to the Highlanders and their numbers, believed them to be really so formidable, that it shou'd be no prudence in him, and as little safety to the service to hazard that party, and so returned with all diligence again to Perth. But the morning before his resolution of returning, he dispatched an express to the General, giving account of his being advanced so far, and his intention to lodge at Ruthven in Badenoch, where the General had placed a garrison of countrymen : The following night which express coming to Inverness, on Saturday night at even, the General having ordered provisions only for two days for his party, and leaving some three or four hundred countrymen, under command of Balnagown, whose men they were mostly, for the guard of Inverness, marched out Sunday morning early with about 100 English horse, 140 dragoons, at most 200 old foot, and 200 Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagown's men, in all about 640 men, having sent orders to the Lord Strathnaver to repair speedily to Inverness with all the ready men he had, as well as to the gentlemen of the Lord Raes family, to bring thither 200 men more of their best armed, which was punctually and speedily obeyed, and so after he had taken care

for the security of Inuerneſs, which he judged of great importance for the service, as much as his preſent bad enough circumſtances would allow, he purſued his way with all diligēce to meet with Ramſay, and ſecure their junctiōn at all hazards, notwithstanding he had dayly intelligence out of Lochaber, and could not learn as yet that Dundee had got any conſiderable number beſides his horſe together, not willing to ſpare any pains or negleſt the reaſonable methods of ſecuring the ſervice, as well as, becauſe he could not make uſe for intelligence but of ſuch as knew the Highlanders, and who might appear among them without ſuſpicion, and by conſequence Highlanders, whom he durſt not throughly truſt.

Dundee, having received by an exprefſ from the Marquif of Atholes ſteward the Generals letters and direcōions to Ramſay, as well as intelligence that Ramſay was to be in Badenoch upon ſuſh a day, made what diligēce he could to get a body of Highlanders, foot, joined to his horſe capable to enterpriſe upon his party, (for at that time the Highlanders had more reſpeſt for our men than ſome few months thereaſter,) marched out of Lochaber upon Saturday, at night, and entered into the braes of Badenoch, 12 miles above Ruthven, upon Sunday morning, with about 2000 men, which encreaſed ſhortly after to 1000 more, by which calculation of time we fee, that if Ramſay had knoun the country himſelf, or had had knowing men with him, in whom he could repoſe truſt, he might have been at Inuerneſs before Dundee entered Badenoch, for upon Saturday night he might have lodged at Ruthven; and if the enemey had approached him in Badenoch, he had a ſure retreat to the Laird of Grant's country, whom the General had a little before ordered to leave his men together to the number of 7 or 800 for the ſame purpoſe, but the interception of the Generals letters, wherein he had given him all neceſſary direcōions, occaſioned the miſtake, ſo that inſtead of Ramſay with his party, which he expeſted to meet with that day inſallibly, the General, being advanced half way to Badenoch, met an exprefſ from the Commander of the Caſtle of Ruthven, with advertisement of Ramſay's return, and Dundee's entry into Badenoch, 10 or 12 miles above the faid caſtle; whereupon,

coming to a halt, he considered the consequence, which naturally might be expected from his present circumstances, for he concluded the Marquis of Athole, with his people, ennemis to the government, and looked upon that country as ready to join with Dundee ; he expected no less of the Lord Lovets men, he himself being the Marquis son-in-law, depending wholly on his advice ; he looked upon the Earle of Seaforts country and friends as slaves to their proper interest, ready to join with and obey the strongest, and that the men of Badenoch would follow the same measures with those of Athole. He considered that the losf of Inuerneſs, which had for garifon but a few undisciplined Highlanders, to be a great advantage to the ennemy ; and, on the other hand, if he shoule return back to secure it, that Dundee would form such a party in the Duke of Gordons country, as well as in all the counties of Murray, Banff, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, and Perth, as shoule not only be too formidable for all the forces deſigned in Scotland, but would preſently cutt of all communication be-twixt him and the fouth, from whence he could alone expect to be fuccoured, ſo that of two poſſible evils he chose the laſt and leaſt ap- parent, and having diſpatched exprefſes to Inuerneſs, affuring them, that if the ennemy ſhould turn head that way they might freely expect him in his rear, exhorting them in ſuſh a caſe to a vigorous defence ; as alſo to the Lord Strathnaver and the Lord Raes family to haſt up thither the fuccours he had ordered. He changed his march, and falling to the left hand toward the Laird of Grants country, (who was preſent with him), caſhed Strathſpey, marched the reſt of that day, and the whole enſuing night, to gain be-twixt Dundee and the Duke of Gordons country, which was his neareſt help, to cover the Laird of Grants interest, which lay nixt to the place where the ennemy lay for the time, it being a neceſſary maxim in the war for ſuch as would gain and keep friends never to abandon them without neceſſity. To gain be-twixt Dundee and the fouth, to be maſter as well of the retreat in caſe of neceſſity as of the neceſſary fuccours, and to ſee if, by ſuſh a ſpeedy and unexpedited motion, he might happily meet with a favourable occaſion to fall upon Dundees party in diſorder and

stragling, to which that sort of people are very subject ; but so it was, that after a continued march of 24 hours, whereby he gained the plains of Strathspey, betwixt Dundee and the low country, and willing in the beginning of the war to try his fortune, not judging he hazarded much, being stronger than his ennemy in horse, believing at that time his dragoons firm and resolute for the service, and so judging himself in such plain ground master of his retreat at the worst, he marched with all possible diligence and secrecy till he came within a mile and a half of Dundees camp, but found he lay round about with a wood, and a marsh within the wood, as in a double trench, whereby he saw there was nothing to be done that way, but because his foot was extremely weary and sleepy, he advanced near a pafs, within a mile of the ennemy, and there halted from four till ten in the morning, at which time, having put his party under arms, he marched to the pafs to observe the countenance of the ennemy, and to see if he would shew himself, but in vain ; for the General was informed by some of their own number afterwards, that notwithstanding of that advantage of their camp, upon the first alarm of his approach, Lochiel retired about four miles to the hills, from his camp, with all the foot, and with such precipitation, that it looked more like a chase than a retreat, which doth justify the Generals thoughts of trying to surprize them, which he had certainly done were the ground such that he could have come in sight of them. Having then stayed at the foresaid pafs till towards four of the clock in the afternoon, he judged, both for want of provisions and forage, and that he could not lodge securely near an ennemy of that kind, whose advantage is that with which men usually secure their camps, as woods, marshes, and rough ground, withall, being so very unequall in number, that he ought to retire from them further, and so, having informed himself of the Laird of Grant, marched that night about four miles down the country, from whence he wrote to the government of his present bad circumstances, wherewith he charged principally the Marquis of Athole, concluding that his countrymen durst not behave as they had done, both in the friendly reception of, and the free passage and assurance of assistance to Dundee, with

the interception of his exprefs and orders to Ramfay, whom they had dis-
couraged by their falfe news, without the Marquis connivance, not sparing
at the fame time the Viscount of Tarbat, who, both at London and Edinburgh,
had promised great matters of his credit in the county of Rofs,
especiallly with the name of Mackenzie, who can arm 1500 men, tho not
of the most resolute fort, yea, assuring the General, that tho the Earle of
Seaforth, (who was with King James, and papift), shoud come to his own
country, and among his friends, he, the said Viscount, would overturn in
eight days more than the Earle could advance in fix weeks; whereby the
General, finding at his coming north the disaffection of the Mackenzies,
judged easily that the Viscount was not a friend, if not an ennemy to the
government, to whom he represented him also for fuch. Whereupon the
government secured him as they would have done Athole, had he not gone
to England, where the King, upon the Generals letter sent up by Duke
Hamilton, caused arrest him, and Tarbat being set at liberty upon the writ-
ing a letter to his friends the gentlemen of the name of Mackenzie, retired
secretly into England and to London, where he found protection by his
cousin-german, the Lord Melvill, sole secretary of state for Scotland, who
from that time forth, together with Tarbat, determined to lose the Gene-
ral, as by the following relation shall appear, tho with him should be lost
at the fame time the Kings service, which has very near proved the effect
of their malice. Whether designed so or not, betwixt them and God be
it, who, to his name be the glory, gave their Majesties arms, entrusted to
the General, succeſſ, suitable to the justice of the caufe, and the disinter-
ested zeal and unweareid endeavour wherewith he laboured to advance it,
yea, far beyond what he could reaſonably have propofed to himſelf, con-
ſidering the difficulties he had to wreftle with, not only from the ennemy,
but much more from the government, and fuch as the King entrusted and
benefited, (if it may be ſaid), only with the direcſions and advantages
thereof.

The General, (to return to our relation), diſpatched orders to the regi-
ments of Barclys dragoons and Leſlies foot, (who lay at Forfar and Cow-

per, in the county of Angus, being ordered down to Scotland upon a letter from him as he went to the north to Sr John Laniere, when the new levies, by the reasons above mentioned, did not succeed so very well,) to march out of their present quarters to the north, by the road of Cairnmonth, pursuing their way by the root he marked to them, till they should receive his further orders, being as yet uncertain where he shoud have occasion to join, sinc he judged himself upon the defensive, and so obliged to regulate matters according to the ennemys measures. The orders for the march of those regiments he sent for dispatch sake, because the affair preft, by one of the Laird of Grants tennents, recommended for a very trufy man, a Highlander, who was accuftomed to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, where he was to paſs as the ſhorteft way, and was not therefor judged ſuspect to thoſe people, who, sinc the Earle of Mars death, favoured the rebells. But, to be ſure, he ſent other meſſengers every day by another road, and adverтиſed the Maſter of Forbes and Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie, to get together all the armed men they could, in caſe he were ſpeedily obliged to retire before the ennemy, who increased in number dayly by the junction of ſuch as would lay hold upon the occaſion to robb and plunder, which Dundee was forced to give way to, if he would keep ſuſh a rabble together. Having diſpatched thoſe orders and letters, and informed himſelf of the moſt ſecure and convenient poſt in the Laird of Grants country, having regard to the ſecurity of his party, as well as means of forage for his horſe, and provisions for the men, a ſummer duelling of Grants, where there were ſome meadows and fields of corn proper for the nature of the party, whose strenth was moſt in horſe, was pitched upon, whither he marched; the Laird of Grant furniſhing him with ſome oat-meal and ſheep for the men, with oats for the horſe, who found little or nothing in the field, which made the English horſe quickly loſe their bellies and be- come uſelesſ many of them, and feveralſ of them died in that camp by ſcarci- ty of forrage, and extraordinary cold weather, tho pretty far advanced in May. But the officers and men of that detachement of Colcheſters regiment never repined, tho feveral times, during a month, that that chicane with

Dundee lasted, reduced to great wants of provisions and forage, notwithstanding the General took all the care possible to have it out of Murray and other places, who having posted himself at the foresaid summer duelling of the Laird of Grants, engaged of such trusty countrymen, as he recommended to him, 10 or 12 to be always coming and going toward the ennemy, who camped about five or six miles above him, upon the same river, being resolv'd to stay there till the ennemy drew nearer, who, seeing our party making mine to expect him, might happily take it to con- sideration, and expect the junction of more of his associates, before he would venture upon our post, which was advantagious for horse, whereby our succours, ordered north by the General, would have the more time to draw near ; for as yet he believed not the general report, that Levingtons dragoons were ill affected to the service ; where, for mark of his trust to them, he sent some days before, order to Lieutenant Colonel Levingston to repair to the north with the two troops of the said regiment which was left with him at Dunde, and joined the party at his post called Colmnakill, which was so covered behind with the river of Spey, and before with woods and marshes, with a little river to the right very rough and stony ; within which avenues there was a pretty spacious plain proper, as the General judged, for his horse to gallop through those Highland foot, who apprehend nothing so much as horse in the midst of this plain. Grant had as much houfing as could cover our foot. The General kept the whole party by their arms, and the horse saddled and bridled in the night time, besides small guards of horse and dragoons, for advertisement, pretty far advanced in the woods, and foot along the little river which covered his quarter to the right, so that he could not be surprised, tho' his spies should not serve him faithfully, whereof some came in every two hours at least. Befide those advantages of this post we had a safe retreat down the river, in case the General might judge that the surest for the service. Two days after the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Livingston by the party, two deferters came into our quarter from Dundee, who being brought to the General, he examined them, demanding

why they had left Dundee, for one of them had been a serjant in Wachop's regiment in England, and deserted after Sir David Collier was made Colonel of it, carrying three more with him, which made the General suspeēt him the more, telling him he lookt on him as sent from Dundee to spy his camp, and that he shoule be treated accordingly, if he would not give a better account of himself. Whereat the fellow desired to speak with him alone ; so all officers being commanded out of the room, except Sir Thomas Livingston, he told the General that he was betrayed by his own men, and being askd who they were, he named Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, Captain Murray, Livingston, Crighton, and several others, few excepted, (but the Colonel, the Major, and Captain Balfour,) of all the dragoon officers, who were not aētually in the plott, or had less or more communication of it. And being further enquired what proofs he had of these assertions ; he answered, (as did also his comrade) that beside that Dundee usually assured his Highland Chiefs of Clans, that he was sure of the dragoons, but that it was not yet time to call them, being more useful to him where they were ; that he saw him read letters from his Lady to the same purpose, naming particularly the forementioned officers, together with one Lieutenant Murray of the same regiment, a young debauched fellow, but one of the aētiveſt instruments in that plot.

Whereupon the General, having heard all they had to say, told them he would send them to the Laird of Grants house of Bala Castle (where garrison was kept) to be kept in civil imprisonment, and well entertained, till he shoule have occasion to discover the truth of the matter, with assurance of recompence, if their intelligence were found true, and exemplar punishment in case it should be discovered that they were sent by Dundee of purpose to make the dragoons suspeēt, and consequently useleſs to him ; whereat they appeared to be well fatisſed ; which made the General believe the more what they had attested ; withall they appealed to the Lairds of Blair and Pollock, the Captain and Lieutenant of horſe which Dundee had surprised at St. Johnſtoun a little before, then prisoners in his camp, with whose communication they had left Dundee

to carry over that intelligence, lest we should venture in action with so small a party, whereof such a considerable part were traitors.

The prisoners being removed to Bala Castle, the General consulted Sir Thomas Livingston concerning his regiment, who told him that he did not believe the dragoons knew any thing of the plot, except it were very few; but he himself did begin to suspect the behaviour of the forenamed officers, particularly after the Lieutenant-Colonels junction with the two troops, for that they were usually serious together; but that always upon his appearance near them, the matter, whatever it might be, was hushed up, which fortified the General in the opinion they were rogues; however, he resolved to stay in his camp till the enemy drew nearer, upon the following reasons, that every day which he stay'd there was gain'd to him, because it drew nearer the expected succour which he had ordered, and lost to Dundee, because it hindered his communication with those places whereout of he expected his speediest and best reinforcement, particularly in horse, which he wanted most, and that he judged, if he should presently retire, that he must needs be obliged to repass the hills before the two forementioned regiments could join him, and so leave all the north to Dundee, where he would presently have such a party, both of horse and foot, as should not only be too formidable for any reinforce expected at that time, but also for any thing he could put together in the nation against him, considering the diversion which the Castle of Edinburgh, the securing that of Stirling, the guarding of the government at Edinburgh, and the apprehensions both of a landing from Ireland, and a rising upon the borders, occasioned. These reasons then considered, the General resolved to stay in the post, after communication and advice of Sir Thomas Livingston, Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan, who commanded the detachment of foot he had from the three Dutch regiments, and the Laird of Grant, who had been useful to him, both as to the helping him to faithfull intelligence and messengers, as also, with some provisions and oats for the horses at first, till it was got out of Murray by the Generals peremptory orders, which they durst not refuse, not knowing how matters would go.

At this time Dundee blockt by a detachment from his Highland army, which was judged now about 3000 men, the old castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, where the English kept a garrison all the time they were in Scotland, and where the General at his first arrival at Inuerneſ had placed one John Forbes, brother to Colodin, Captain in the regiment which Grant was to levy, a resolute brisk young man, and very well affected to the interest, with about 60 men of Grants Highlanders; whom Dundee knowing to want provisions, by a letter of his which he intercepted, surprised him in that condition; for such as had the charge to furnish him neglected it too long, and he being a young fouldier did not think of the nixt best remedy, viz. to take from the inhabitants, when the security of his poſt did absolutely require it. This gentleman, having no ſubſtance, was forced to render the house which Dundee burnt, but capitulated for his own and his garrison's liberty, and having been carried through Dundees camp, did ſee their horses faddled, and all preparing for a march, and being licentiated he met upon the way to our poſt, and a mile from the ennemys camp, two men on horseback, the one clothed in blue, and the other in red, whereof he in blue challenged Captain Forbes in French with a "Qui vive," who returning "Vive le Roy Guilleaume;" the other ſaid he had preſently been commanded out of our poſt to get news of the ennemy, and notwithstanding, Forbes told him he would run hazard of being caught by Dundees men, he nevertheless purſued on his way; whereof the Captain having informed the General at his arrival by him as he was at dinner, he preſently caused make inquiry who had ſent any horse or dragoons abroad, and if they wanted any of their number clothed blue, perſuading himſelf it was with intelligence from the offiſers of dragoons to Dundee; for he had given no order for ſending out any for intelligence; for beſide, that the English horse were much ruined, ſo that they could not make parties, they were ſtrangers in the country, and the dragoons he truſted no more; ſo that he relayed moſtly upon Grants men as to information of the enemy.

Prefently upon this advice, ſome of the ſpies coming in, gave notice that

the ennemy was in motion towards us ; whereupon the General called for the commanding officers, ordering them to put their men under arms, and to draw out upon the plain, calling the Laird of Grant to him ; to whom he said, that it was with regret he left his country exposed to the ravage of the rebels, which nevertheless he hoped should be but for a very few days, and therefor willed him to cause his tenents remove their cattle down the country out of the ennemys way, who, in all appearance being encouraged by his retreat, would follow upon his rear, by which means his people, for the greater part, might happen to escape good cheap. To which Grant replyed, that, tho all his interest should be lost thereby, he would not wish him to make one step to the prejudice of their Majesties service.

The General did not judge it as yet expedient to discover any thing of his jealousy of the dragoons ; therefor, because he usually made them march in the front and rear of his party, he continued the same order, only he put the Majors and Captain Balfours companies behind, and the Colonels with the other four companies in the front, that his presence might overawe the ill affected officers. He placed nixt the two troops of dragoons the 200 foot of the three Dutch regiments, most of them grenadiers ; next to them the English horse, scarcely 70 strong at this time ; and betwixt them and Sir Thomas Livingston, who led the march, 200 brisk Highlanders of the Lord Raes and Balnagowns men, and dismissed what men of Grants were together, to the end they might do their best to defend their houses against stragglers of the ennemy, and remove their cattle out of their way, since he was not in a condition to protect them ; and continuing in order, as above, till it was obscure with the night, began his march when he knew that the ennemy was within three short miles of him, who, by this means, could not readily know the certainty of his retreat that night no more than the way he retired by, because he had three ways to avoid engagement ; one towards Inuerneſſ, which Dundee, not knowing his reaſons, might readily believe his likeliest way ; the ſecond, which was the neareſt to join the ſuccours by twelve

miles through Strathdown and Glenlivet, by which, if Dundee had understood the country and his trade to have informed himself exactly thereof, he might have gained betwixt our party and the regiments which we expected from the south, and put the General to a hard pull ; who, tho he perceived the feasability of such a fachious accident, durst not reslove to march through an ennemys country all Papists, with an ennemy four times his number in his rear ; besides that the foresaid way was very disadvantagious for horse, in case of the ennemys approach ; so committing to the providence of God, (against whom there is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor councill can succeed), he took his way doun the river with hungry horse and men, tho resolute, particularly Colchester's horse and the 200 fufileers upon whom he relied most, and marching by a gentlemans houſe called Grant of Ballandalach, who was with Dundee, made no halt till he came to a place called Balvany, where he was forced to fettle himself till he shoud gett ſome bread for his men and oats for the horse ; where, having met with Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſſie with the country foot, he furnished him with men to ſend out for intelligence, of whom he diſpatched ſome by the way he came, and others by the way where he apprehended that Dundee would labour to cut betwixt him and his fuccours ; who came in nixt morning with news that he had not quitt Strathſpey as yet. Whereat the General being very well ſatified, ſent nevertheless preſently again others out the fame way, and ordered a party of 12 dragoons to be ſent out by the way he had marched off, being in the greateſt impatience in the world to have in ſome proవiſions and oats, which came at laſt about five of the clock at night. But the General ſeeing none of thoſe he had ſent out in the morning return, notwithstanding both officers and fouldiers grumbled, he would not ſtay till they had given their horse corn, and till the fouldiers had got ſome bread baked. He marched the party off in the fame order he had done the day before ; and having paſt a little river, the matter of a mile above the place he camped in, by that time he had marched about an halfmile on the other ſide, Sir Thomas Livingſton, who happened to be a little

behind, discovered the ennemy on the other side, that is, the side we lodged on before, and marching straight to the same ground we came from, and to the foord where we past. The General having ordered Lieutenant Colonel Livingston to continue a good pace, who then happened to be the first officer at the head, galloped back to the place from whence they discovered the ennemy ; and having dispatched Sir Thomas Livingston to lead the party, with orders to continue a constant pace, such as should neither weary the soldiery nor lose time, he placed himself with about 50 or 60 horse and dragoons upon an height in view of the ennemy with his nephew, major to Livingston, and the Master of Forbes, who joined him there with about 50 horse ; which the ennemy perceiving, came to a halt to gather up their straglers, and form themselves in battalions, or rather by clans. Mean time the General detached his nephew to a hill which lay to his left, about a quarter of a mile, from whence being towards the ennemys flank as they should pass the river, he could get a nearer and a more just view of their force ; but seeing the ennemy design to act betwixt him and Major Mackay, he called him presently back again. The ennemy having got up their men, past the river first with their horse, which we judged at distance about 150, who imbattelled themselves to cover and favorise the passage of their foot, which also they imbattelled as they past, and so their baggage. Mean time the General perceived them to begin to set forward after sunset, and judging now his party about two miles in head, he turned his horses head, faying to the officers which were with him, 'tis long enough staid here, 'tis better to step, then gallop off. But Major Mackay being intent upon the motion of the ennemy, and not hearing the General order to march off, staid there behind a little, wherein he failed very little of being intercepted, and marching after at a good rate, he espied a party of 12 horse, which appeared more because of the twilight, to the Generals left along the face of an hill, which supposing of Dundees horse, made him cry halt, to advertise the General : Who turning about, and seeing his nephew galloping after him, judged he had some of the ennemy in his

croop, which obliged him to fend orders after the party to make Colchefter's detachment halt in the first plain spot of ground, ordering the rest to continue their march, being very ill pleased with his nephew for staying behind him, whereby, if the ennemy were undertaking, he might happen to engage him mal-a-propos ; but the horse which alarmed the Major was the serjant with 12 dragoons of Livingstons regiment, which were sent out in the morning for intelligence, and who, hapning to be the Lieutenant-Colonels serjant, and concerned in the plot, designed to bring the ennemy upon us in our quarters, as it was afterwards discovered, the same being the man in blue which Captain Forbes had met within a mile of Dundees camp, the day the General marched off, which as yet was not known, so that the fellow pretended to have run great hazard of the ennemy, and to have marched far about to be free of them.

Sir Thomas Livingston, then having got the alarm that the General was engaged, drew up all the party in order to wait for orders, which he presently ordered to march, being dissatisfied at the halt : but no man could find out the author of the alarm ; so continuing his march till he had past the River of Bogie, where he was necessitate to come to an halt at four of the clock in the morning, neither horse nor foot being able to march farther ; there he caused distribute the oats and oat meal, which had been got up in the former camp, and did let the horse feed upon a spot of corn in the mens hands. Mean time he received news to his great satisfaction, that Barclay and Lefly would join him that day, so to play sure game, after two hours rest, he marched three miles further toward his succours, putting a very ill pass betwixt him and Dundee, and posted himself at the foot of an hill called Suy Hill, upon the common road from the south to the north, over which he expected the foresaid two regiments, and from whence he could discover two miles to all hands and ways by which the ennemy could approach him, who all this while knew nothing of the reinforcement he expected, contrary to the Generals apprehension, who judged, by reason, that all the countries by which they past, were affected to the ennemys party ; he could not be ignorant of those regi-

ments march northward. But God, who over-rules all the actions of the creatures, preserved singularly that small handful of men beyond all expectation, considering the strenth of the ennemy, and that of 600, 200 (in which consisted our greatest advantage were they trufy to the service) were to be considered as ennemys: For, in the first place, had Dundee accepted of it, the General had engaged in action with him in all appearance, the first day he came near, having then opinion of the dragoons that they would fight, as happily he had done, had Dundee attacked him at Culnakeill before the spies discovered the plot of the dragoons to him ; in which case he had certainly, without a miracle, been beat, which would be naturally of sad consequence to the government ; for all benorth Tay (which is far the more formidable half of Scotland as to the war, except a few families which would be forced to follow the same measures, or be ruined, beside all the borders on both fides) would declare for King James, if afterward Dundee had got intelligence of the march of Barclay and Lefly, as the General apprehended, and had immediately, upon the assurance he had of our officers of dragoons, marched the shorlest way along the foot of the hills toward Cromar and Bognie, he could not fail either of beating Lefly or Barclay, who lodged four miles distant from each other Monday night, or both happily, or tho he had no knowledge of their march, or prospect of beating up their quarters, it was absolutely his game being so much superior in force, having intelligence with a considerable part of ours, the neighbouring hills for sure retreat in all cases, and being favoured of the country ; I say, considering those advantages, it was absolutely his part and true maxim to get betwixt the General and the south, it being easily conjectured, that if there were any forces in the kingdom, he would order some to his succour, and his very motion southward might teach so much to a cunning ennemy, beside that the cutting the Generals communication with the government and the principal force of the kingdom, could not but be of notable consequence and advantage to Dundee, and disadvantage to the government, whereby we may see the hand of providence very visible in this escape of so inconsiderable a party, whose

defeat at that time would naturally draw difficulties upon the government not easily to be redressed, by the reasons above mentioned, as well as the divisions which already began to discover themselves in that very party which carried the convention in favour of their Majesties government, whereby we should learn to be modest when it pleaseth God to bleſs the service in our hands, which the moſt experienced and clear fighted in their profefſion will have reaſon to do, if they examine impartially themſelves, either as to their judgement, diligence and reſolution, wherein they ſhall find enough to humble them in themſelves, and move them to give the glory to God; beſide, that if we projeſt and deſign any thing which the iſſue doth juſtify as advantageous to the intereſt we ſerve, we ought to attribute the deſign, as well as the favourable ſucces thereof to God, in whom all his creatures do live, move and have their being, and whose gift it is when men have the ſpirit of their calling, is, as we ſee by the example of Saul, David and others, to whom God gave ſpirit conform to the dignity he called them to, a double bleſſing, when it is given in the fear of the Lord, and continuall dependance upon his fatherly goodneſs to inſtruct and frenthen us in our profefſion, ſo as denying all ſelf and private regards, to carry on the ſervice wherewith we are intruſted with Christianiſerity, and unweareid zeall and diligence according to the aſtrophe, ſerving our Maſters not with eye ſervice, but as the ſervice of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart.

The General being come to the foot of Suy Hill, where he expeſted that day the junction of Barclay and Lefly, and was out of all hazard of being engaged or cut from his expeſted ſuccours by Dundee, he let his party repofe, tho not much refresh themſelves, having little or no pro-visions; wherefor he ſent to the Lord Forbeſ's houſe, two miles off, to ſee if any bread could be had, or quickly baked of oat meal, to ſupply his hungry foldiers, the horſe getting ſomething now in the fields to pick at, where order was given to prepare ſome bread; but the Generals ſpeedy march that night towards Dundee diſapointed us of that ſupply. Barclay being arrived at 12 o'clock, and Lefly towards fix in the afternoon, having

a long march that day upon the reiterat pressing orders which the General sent to haften them. He refolved as soon as the night should hinder the fight of his motion from the tops of the neighbouring hills, to march straight to the ennemy, which he did after ten of the clock ; the day in thosse northern parts of Scotland in that season of the year being very long, which accordingly he did, after he had given their posts to all the troops, setting the 200 Fusileers of the three Dutch regiments at the head of all, by reason of the night and strait ways, not discovering any thing of jealousy of the dragoons as yet, except to the Colonel and Major. But the ennemy being about eight miles off, as he supposed, upon the lands of Sir George Gordon of Edinglasse, (which, with the house they had wholly deftroyed), and because of the shortnes of the night he could not propose to himself to surprise them in body, because of their fenteries by day time upon the tops of the hills ; but the Highlanders serving more for plunder than affection to the service, cannot be kept from stragling over the face of the country, as well in their marches as camping, particularly when they were not paid, nor no general method taken for their subsistance : so he hop'd if they could not gett them in a body, he might catch some of them, and discourage the whole.

But the traiterous officers of dragoons prevented him by dispatching two dragoons off in the night to give them advertisement, who, with others of the ennemis, not being able to follow their body, were got hid in a wood beside Edinglasse's house, which proved the most clear evidence of their treachery thereafter ; for some countrymen having advertised Edinglasse, that the ennemy was diflodged, for the General would not advance detachments at any confiderable distance, both because of the roughnes of the ground, whereby the retreat would be difficult to him if attacked by the ennemy, and because he would not have them alarmed, if happily he might come near with his whole force before they had notice of it, at least so as to have time to call in their straglers ; Edinglasse, I say, being advertised of their retreat, and that there were yet some straglers about his house, rode off with the Master of Forbes, Major Mackay,

and some others, and got two dragoons of our own, as above, hid in the woods, with a servant and a boy belonging to one Captain Bruce, formerly Captain-Lieutenant in Livingstons dragoons in time of King James and several Highlanders. The servant and the boy being examined, confessed that the servant mentioned above, who had been commanded out with 12 dragoons to get news of the enemy, had been in Dundees camp, had spoke with the Lord Dundee apart, and that immediately thereafter the faid Dundee had ordered the march, which was at the same time Captain Forbes had met with him. The two dragoons also confessed so much, that the General finding his party now augmented, judged expedient to seize the persons of Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, with the other suspected officers of Livingstons regiment, which done he marched after the enemy to Balvany that night, and next day to Culnakeill, from whence he had retired five days before, where having got notice that a party of the enemy was on the other side of the river, he ordered Livingston to command out 200 dragoons, who himself understanding that the Laird of Grant had been prest by the enemy, went out with Lieutenant-Colonel Hauly of Barclays regiment, and Major Mackay, with a greater number than the General had commanded; who, in the mean time knowing Dundee not to be far off, kept the rest of the party under arms, either to sustain Livingston, if he should have met with a greater number than was expected, or to oppose Dundee, if, upon notice of a considerable detachment, he should resolve to fall in his quarter, for he was still stronger in number than we, tho the General esteemed his party more formidable by the inequality of horse and dragoons.

Livingston being marched about two miles fair ground from the river, met with 500 men of the enemy, who, by the indiscretion of his adjutant riding before about a quarter of a mile, had got the alarm so soon, that notwithstanding he galloped all the way after them, when he got discovery of them) they gained the foot of a great steep hill before he could join them, by which means they escaped him with the loss only of about 80 or 100 men, whereas, if the adjutant had been so prudent when he

had discovred the ennemy, to retire without noise to give his colonel an account thereof, not one of them had escaped in this little occasion. Livingstons dragoons shewed a great deal of forwardnes to rub off the affront occasioned by their officers, as did also the English dragoons of Barcklay. There was of our side a captain of Barcklays regiment, with six dragoons of both the regiments killed, and some wounded. Meantime of this skirmish, news came to the General that Livingston was unequally engaged against Dundees, whose force, (tho he did not believe him in any hazard, since he had double the number of Dundees horse with him, and so was always master of a sure retreat, steing so that the foot could not attain, nevertheless, to negle&t nothing, and to see if happily Dundees misfortune might have engaged him in that plain ground,) past the river with all the rest of the party, but met Livingston a mile on the other side upon his return to the quarter, whither he also returned with the whole, sending next day the rest of Colchester's detachment into Murray, with orders to repair southward to join the rest of the regiment, the north of Scotland being scarce of good forrage for such large horses, and to carry along with them, in sure custody, the officers of dragoons which were made prisoners.

Colonel Ramsay, as hath been said above, having retired upon the alarm of the great numbers of the Highlanders to St. Johnstoun, again sent for new orders to the council, giving them account of the reason of his return, who ordered a detachment of 100 dragoons of Barcklays regiment (before it had received the Generals orders to march to the north) 200 men of Levins, and 100 of Hastings regiment to join him, with which he marched again through Athole and Badenoch to Inuerneſs.

Of which march, if the General had had timely advertisement, he might have given Ramsay such directions that Dundee would have much ado to disembarraſs himself of both, but he got the notice of it so late, that he was past the place where Ramsay could have hindered him, before he could come the lenth from Inuerneſs, upon the orders sent to him to that effect. Withall he had orders to bring some provisions along with him,

which hindred his march some what, notwithstanding the General did judge that he could not engage Dundee, and that he saw no way to secure himself of provisions in those rough and boggy countries, where no waggons or carts could possibly follow. Nevertheless, not willing to quite the pursuit of him till he had forced his piece-meal forces to enter Lochaber again, having joind Ramsay he marched up Strathspey, and into Badenoch, both lying upon the same river of Spey, having before sent orders to Inuerneſs to get some meal to Ruthen in Badenoch, which was so long a coming, that the forces wanted provisions 24 hours before he could retire, till he was certified so well by his spies as by a party of 100 dragoons, which he sent after them till within 10 miles of Lochaber, that the Highlanders were dispersed every one to his own house; whereupon he sent Barelays regiment to Strathbogy, an house belonging to the Duke of Gordon, where there was graſs for ſome weeks, Ramsay with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments to Elgin, in the county of Murray, and took Livingtons regiment of dragoons, Leflies of foot, with 300 of Levin and Haſtings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders with him to Inuerneſs, where he ſtaid the matter of a forth-night, to ſee if the ennemy would undertake any thing further, and to fettle the neceſſary orders.

By this time ſeveral companies of the Lord Strathnavers and Grants regiments were levied, but being without cloaths, arms or diſcipline, the General laid no ſtress upon them for the ſecurity of those northern parts; but conſidering all the counties beſtowt Spey, except that of Sutherland, (comprehending the Earle of Sutherlands and the Lord Raes countries,) and the Lairds of Balnagown and Grants men, either diſaffected, or ſuch as could not be made ſtate upon, he refolved to leave Sir Thomas Livington to command there in chief, and for forces, his own regiment with Sir James Leflies, the 300 of Levins, and Haſtings regiments, and the 200 Highlanders, beſides what he could make of the new levies, and upon occaſion could call for out of the county of Sutherland, and from Balnagown, and Grant; having at his return to Inuerneſs writ to Duke Hamil-

ton as the Kings Commissioner in parliament, that he saw no way to subdue the Highlanders, considering their country was full of mountains, bogs, woods and difficult passes with inaccessible retiring places, where it was impossible to hunt them out, as well as to subsist a fortnight in such barren and desart countries, but by placing a formidable garrison at Innerlochy, with other smaller ones in their places; therefore wished that his Grace, with the Parliament and Council, would take it to consideration speedily before the season were further spent, to provide the necessary materials for such a design against his arrival in the south, whither, seeing the ennemy attempt no farther, he moved, toward the 20th of June, with the detachment of the three Dutch regiments, only after he had given to Sir Thomas Livingston some general idea of the matters of the north by way of instruction, recommending the improvement thereof to his own judgment, according to the dayly occurrences, leaving the regiment of Barcklay in the county of Aberdeen, with orders to chuse quarters where they could best subsist; but judging the house of Braemarr a very fit place for a garrison, because that it was far advanced in the Highlands, and covered the foreaid county of Aberdeen; with all to bridle the Marr men, who had already discovered their affection to the ennemys party, he dispatched 50 horse, 50 dragoons of Barcklays, with 60 foot, and some provisions, to take possession thereof, with a written order to the captain of dragoons to push forward with the horse and dragoons, leaving the foot to follow with the provisions: and having put 20 of his dragoons in the house in passing, marched forward without halt, and before day, to the house of Innery, three miles further, with all the diligence and secrecy possible, whereby he might readily surprize them, with several other gentlemen of note, who, upon the separation of Dundees party, retired that way. But instead of following his order when he had got into the house, he stayed till he had refreshed his horses, whereby day surprised him before he had got the length of his prey, which escaped him nevertheless so narrowly, that he got sight of them running in their shirts to a wood near the house where they were; whereby we are taught that the least minute

of time is not to be neglected in the war, because the delay can never be so small but it may overturn the enterprize, and that all neglects therein ought to be punished according to the importance of the disappointed design ; whereby men, who do not their duty for conscience, may be taught to do it for the fear of punishment. Nevertheless, tho' the neglect was of importance to the service, and the behaviour of the commanders of the party, after the missing of that prey, looked very faint-hearted, the General judged not seasonable to take much notice of it, but dissembled his thoughts, because one of the captains was a stranger, and the other the Master of Forbes, a young youth, whom he hoped to make usefull to the service, tho' as yet bashfull before his ennemy, having never seen any.

Innerey and his guests having escaped this lurch, sent with all speed messengers out to gather the country people to take the pusses before horse and dragoons, and to incommod them in their retreat, while they retiring after their disappointment to the House of Braemar, set their horses loose a grazing, and very securely laid themselves down to sleep about the house ; whither Innerey, approaching with a few men to a rock above, and within a musket shot to it, wakned them with his fire, at which their horses so startled, that after much ado to have catched them, without expecting to be attacked, forsook the house, and galloped all their best down the country ; whereof Innerey laying hold, burnt the house to free them of the neighbourhood of a garrison. The party of foot being advertised of this retreat, took itself to a gentlemans house, with the convoy of provisions of meal, malt and some ammunition, and dispatched an exprefs after the General, (who continued his march southward) to give him account of the ill success of the party, who, knowing that the adverse party would make a great noise of that seeming advantage, notwithstanding of his great haste to Edinburgh to put life in the design of Innerlochy, and that he had not a days bread with him for his party, nor could he expect any that time of the year in that Highland country, resolved to turn of his road to redress that little disorder, tho' all this while he was so weak, not being re-

covered of the ficknesf he got at his landing in England as yet, that he could not but with great inconveniency keep himself on horseback.

Having then dispatched account of this little diversion to Duke Hamilton, entreating the necessary preparations, whereof he marked the particulars, shoud be made for the expedition of Lochaber, and given order for a weeks provisoin for his party (not exceeding 500 men) to follow him, he marched away in the afternoon, and continuing his way all night, joined the sixty foot which he had detached for the garrison of the Houfe of Braemarr, about ten o'clock next morning, after he had dispatched orders to Barcklays dragoons to march up the River of Dee by a plain country between hills, (commonly called Strath in Scotland,) while he, with his foot marched straight over the hills: For he judged that the ennemy would expe&t such a motion, and therefor would gather what party they could together, to catch an opportunity in that ground too favourable for that fort of people agaist regular forces, if his party were not formidable enough to overaw them; and having joind the dragoons, together with the Master of Forbes, and some store of meal for the providing of a garrison for some months, he marched up to the Houfe of Braemarr, where, finding it burnt, and the vaults incapable to lodge any number of men conveniently, after the burning of Innereys house, with all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he lodged 72 men of his detachment under the command of a Captain, Lieutenant and Ensigne; which small number kept a 1000 from doing of any considerable prejudice to the government. Which being done, he sent the dragoons, with the Master of Forbes's troop, to their former quarters doun the same river, and with the rest of his foot party, past the hills into the county of Angus, straight to Edinburgh, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and found not the leaft dispositions made for the design he proposed, viz. the placing of a garrison at Innerlochy, as the only means appearing to his judgment capable to subdue the rebels, to which there must needs a Fort be built. But there being no means to be provided of materials for such a work, it being impossible to

have them made time enough for that year, because the rains begin soon in the Highlands, the General proposed in council to have 1500 pioneers levied out of the northern countries, each of whom should be obliged to carry his spade, shovel or pickax along with him, and to furnish a months provision of meal, with horses to carry it, as well for 400 men, which he designed to employ to that expedition. As for the pioneers, a proposition (tho no other could be offered at that time) which, understanding the nature of the enterprize better afterwards, he easily discovered to prove necessarily ineffectual, not only because the pioneers so provided of materials could not be furnished, and that, tho that difficulty were to be overcome, it was impossible to get subsistance to the forces for half the time, which must needs have been employed to make the fort, there being no foregoing measures taken to fend it by sea, much less to get the garrison provided of cover for the ensuing winter, or supplied with provisions, tho all the rest were feasible. All which difficulties were mostly occasioned by the courts neglecting the Generals proposals shortly after his landing, to have three small frigates sent down to him to facilitate all designs to be formed against those rebels who inhabited the north-west coasts and islands of that kingdom, and were separated from the rest thereof by a spacious distance of country full of bogs, hills, lakes, woods and inaccessible rocks, where a small number of people knowing the ground, with the advantages of the passes and difficult ways, might easily have rendered them impracticable to a far greater number of better forces in plain ground; because the Highlanders, with the prospect of a very inconsiderable loss, can in such ground approach a strong ennemy marching through their country to watch an opportunity, being sure of their retreat, tho they happened to be repulsed, because none but men clothed and armed as they themselves could overtake them; so that the General confessed thereafter that his defeat savor'd in a manner his reputation, because if the rebels proved opinioner, as we have reason to believe by what we saw of them afterward, he could have done nothing but return back again with his

finger in his cheek, if he would not starve all his forces: nay, he could scarcely have carried along subsistence enough to carry him thither and back again tho he should make no stay: Whereby he confessed that the whole design, considering the inability, ignorance and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advancement of their service, was built upon a fandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air; but his impatience to see an end of that war which was so contrary to his humour, and not knowing all the circumstances of that enemy, as to the nature of their country, particular numbers of men which each of the combined rebels was able to bring out, nor yet their way of, nor firmity in, fighting, no more than the unconcerned method of the government in matters which touch them neareft as to their general safety, each being for his particular, and fixt upon his private projects, so as neither to see nor be concerned for any thing else; I say, the Generals ignorance of these particulars as yet being thirty years a stranger to that kingdom, with his desire to be quickly rid of that embarras, occasioned that he easily flattered himself with the success of that design at first, tho he soon (tho too late, being already imbarke in it) saw that it must needs prove fruitless for that year, tho he should have met with no other opposition from the ennemis, but to persit in their rebellion, and only keep themselves out of his way with their cattle, which they might easily do, the nature of their country furnishing them abundance of convenience thereto. But besides all those difficulties, which were too sufficient to frustrate the design for that year, the government kept above three weeks at Edinburgh after his return from the north, ere they could condescend upon a way to carry forth a fortnight's provisions for 400 men only; which certainly proved the occasion that he did not prevent Dundee, by securing the country of Athole, Badenoch, and some others of the neareft Highlands, before he could be in a posture to oppose it; the government being so ill composed at that time, that the ennemy was advertized of all our measures by such as voted them in Councill, to which those delays gave them con-

venience enough. About this time King James being advertised that the Highlanders would lose their patience, seeing the so often renewed promises of succours like to fail for good and all, commanded Brigadier Cannon with 500 Irish to embark upon three small French frigates at Belfast in Ireland for the succour of Dundee, with large promises to make them quickly be followed by a greater number ; who, having upon their way met two little Scots vessels armed for the guard of that coast, and to hinder the passage of Irish into the Highlands, forced them and landed their men safely in the Isle of Mull, from whence they joined Dundee with his party. I forgot in its place to show how that the General, finding himself with so few forces in the North, pressed by a strong party of the ennemy, and betrayed by a considerable part of his own little party, wrote to the Council to order two or three of the new levied regiments with some troops of the horse and dragoons, to the county of Argyle, under the command of the Earle of that name, who could join a considerable number of his vassals, upon occasion, to them to form a diversion, by falling in into parts of the ennemis countries to withdraw some of them from pursuing their point so hotly towards the north.

Before the General's return, the castle of Edinburgh was rendered by capitulation to Sir John Lanier, who upon his letter, as was traced above, had come to Edinburgh to command in the south in his absence, and to call for some more regiments out of England, in case of any stirrs in that part of the kingdom, or of a landing out of Ireland, King James being at that time master of all that kingdom, except Londonderry and Inchkillin, and having the grefs of his force in the northern parts thereof, from whence there is but a very short passage of some hours over to the southwest parts of Scotland.

The General then having resolved to carry only six battalions of foot, making at most 3000 men, with four troops of horse, and as many dragoons, new levies with him for that expedition, with intention to join Argyle with what forces he commanded in his country, if the service so required, ordered the rendezvous of the said forces, the foot confisiting

of a battalion of each of the three Dutch regiments, with the Viscount Kenmores, Earle of Levins and Hastings regiments, the two latter not compleat, because of detachments they had in the north at Perth, taking his way thither over Stirling, both to see the castle and some regiments of foot with troops of horse and dragoons of the new levies which lay that way. But some few days before his departure from Edinburgh, he was advertised by the Lord Murray, eldest son to the Marquis of Athole, that his fathers steuard Balleachan, with some gentlemen of the county of Angus, adherents of Dundee's party, were fortifying themselves in the house of Blair Athole to secure that country the better for King James's interest, resolving to defend it against the Lord Murrays order, the Marquis being at this time in England. Murray being Duke Hamiltons son-in-law, the General desired to speak with him of those matters, in presence of the Duke, where he declared that he had no hopes of persuading the men of Athole to join with the Kings forces against Dundee, their inclination being more for King James than their Majesties government, but engaged to do his best to render himself master of the castle of Blair before Dundee could be there; to which end, and to hinder them from joining Dundee, he was to go to Athole and gather all his fathers vassals together, believing that Balleachan and the tenents he had with him durst not deny him entry in his own house; to which the General answered, that he desired no more of my Lord Murray, than to keep his men from joining against him, promising to make all possible haste to prevent Dundee, being resolved to take the country of Athole in his way to Lochaber; but by the delays of government in the furnishing of meal, as well as of horses for the transport thereof, he was detained at Edinburgh eight or ten days after the Lord Murray went to Athole, who advertised him of having the men of his country together, as also of Balleachans refusal to deliver the castle of Blair into his hands, and that on the contrary he had dispatched messengers to Dundee to hasten him up to his succour, as well as that of his other friends, who seemed to be blockt up in the castle of the Lord Murray.

The General not questioning the sincirity of the faid Lord, both because he was married to Duke Hamiltons daughter (a lady very zealous for the presbyterian interest, as was the dutches her mother) and of some years not living in very good understanding with the Marquis his father, of whom at this time the General had no favourable opinion, preft with all earneftnes his dispatch (tho he began already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in grofs) to secure at leaft the country of Athole with others adjacent, from caſting themſelves headlong in the adverſe party, which he pretended to do by forcing the gates of the caſtle of Blair, where he intended to leave a ſtrong garrison, and for that end ordered four petards to be carried to the rendevois place ; and having viſited the paſs and caſtle of Stirling, and ordered the troops of horſe and dragoons, which were to be of the expedition to follow him to Perth or St. Johnſton, one of the firſt towns of the kingdom, ſituatet in the entry of the Highlands, about the 22d or 23d of July, where a letter from the Lord Murray was ſhown him, giving account of Dundees being in Badenoch on his march to Athole, whither Balleachan had ſo folicited his ſpeedy repair, that he left fevral gentlemen, whose junctiion he expeſted, behind him, to be in Athole before our forces, adding, that if the General did not haſten his march to prevent Dundee, he would not promife to get his men kept from joyning the latter. Upon which information he conſidered that if he flopt at Perth, Dundee would not only be reinforced with the men of Athole, making 1500 as reputet men for arms as any of the kingdom, but also with fuch of the Iiles and other rebels who had not as yet joined him, as well as with thoſe of Badenoch, Monteith and Marr, beſides that his poſting himſelf in Athole, in the county of Perth and the neighbourhood of Angus, would give him apparent opportunity to fortify himſelf conſiderably in horſe. He conſidered further, that the ill-affected of the nation would not fail to make their advantage of any thing which might look like faintnes in their Majefties forces, which they, as well as we ourſelves, judged to be ſuperior in number to Dundee, particularly provided we might hinder the men of Athole as well as thoſe he

left behind to joyn him by obliging him to preſent action, or to keep to the hills ; whereby the General proposed to himſelf occaſion to be maſter of the caſtle of Blair, which infaſibly would keep the Athole-men from joyning the ennemy ; being fure, however, that matters might fall out be-twiſt the bodies, that garrison would always be able to vex them : with all the General judged better of his own men, tho' all of them almoſt new levies than of the ennemy, by reaſon that, notwithstanding of their ad-van-tage in the opening of the ca-paign, they ſhewed nothing that looked like briſkneſs. These were the reaſons then which mo-ved him to reſolve his march in Athole, notwithstanding four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not joyned as yet.

The firſt day he ſet forward from St. Johnſton he lo-dged over againſt Dunkeld, where by 12 of the clock at night he received a letter from the Lord Murray ſignifying Dundee's entry into Athole, and his own re-treat from the caſtle of Blair, (which till then he made the faſhion to keep blockt) and his paſſing a ftraiſt and diſſi-cult paſſ two miles below the ſaid houſe, leaving it be-twiſt him and the ennemy, the farther ſide whereof he affirmed to have left ga-rued, for our free paſſage to the Blair where he ſuppoſed Dundee to be already ; altho' Lieutenant-Colonel Lawder, whom the General com-manded preſently upon Murray's ad-ver-tiſement for the better ſecuring of the paſſ, denied to have met with any of his men there. Next mo-rning by the break of day the General marched, having diſpatched orders to Perth to haſte up the other fix troops and come to the entry of the paſſ, which was eleven miles from his former nights camp, about 10 of the clock, where he let his men reſt two hours to take ſome re-freſh-ment ; having at his coming to a halt com-manded 200 men more, under the Earle of Leven's Lieutenant Colonel to for-tify Lawder, with order to fend back what ad-ver-tiſement they could have of the ennemy, before he ſhould engage himſelf in the paſſ, which was two miles long. The General had ſpoken with the Lord Murray a little below the paſſ ; who being enquired how many men he had with him, anſwered that moſt of

them were gone to the hills to put their cattle out of the way, so that he had at present but two or three hundred of them by him, which seemed reasonable as well as customary to that sort of people, when any forces, whether friends or ennemy past through their country ; which made the General not so apt to judge ill of Murray as others did. However it might be, he apprehended not the ennemy, though he should have met them much stronger than himself. Therefor after he had got a return from Lawder, that the pas was clear, he marched in the following order : Balfour's, Ramsay's and Kenmore's battalions first, then Belhaven's troop of horse, followed by Levin's regiment, with a battalion of the Generals ; after those followed the baggage horses being odds of 1200, and last of all the Earle of Annandales troop of horse with Hafting's regiment, which were left behind the baggage, lest the ennemy might detach men about the hill to attack it, or that the country men, seeing it without sufficient guard, might not fall a plundering of it. Having past with the five battalions and the troop of horse, we halted upon a field of corn along the side of the river, both to expect the passage of the baggage, with Hafting's regiment, and the troop of horse, and to distribute a communication to the forces. While the General ordered Lawder to advance with his 200 fusiliers and the troop of horse which was past some hundreds of paces upon an hill towards the way from whence he expected the ennemy might appear, who presently advertised that some partys of them began to discover themselves betwixt us and Blair ; whereupon the General, galloping to the ground from whence they were discovered, ordered Colonel Balfour to dispatch quickly the distribution of his ammunition, and to put the men under arms, while, having observed the motion of the ennemy, he should chuse the field of battle. Being come up to the advanced party he saw some small partys of the ennemy, the matter of a short mile, marching slowly along the foot of a hill which lay towards Blair, marching towards us ; whereupon he sent orders to Balfour to march up to him in all haste with the foot. But presently upon that order, having

discovered some bodies of them marching down an high hill, within a quarter of a mile to the place where he stood, when the grofs of their body appeared, fearing that they should take poffeſſion of an eminence juſt above the ground where our forces halted on, of a ſteep and difficult aſcent, full of trees and ſhrubs, and within a carabin ſhot of the place whereon we ſtood, whereby they could undoubtely force us with their fire in conuſion over the river, he galloped back in all haſte to the forces, and having made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground they ſtood, made them march each before his face up the hill, by which means he prevented that inconueniency, and got a ground fair enough to receive the ennemy, but not to attack them, there being, within a ſhort muſket ſhot to it, another eminence before our front, as we ſtood when we were up the loweft hill, near the river, whereof Dundee had already gott poffeſſion before we could be well up, and had his back to a very high hill, which is the ordinary maxim of Highlanders, who never fight againſt regular forces upon any thing of equal terms, without a ſure retreat at their back, particularly if their ennemis be provided of horſe; and to be ſure of their eſcape, in case of a repulſe, they attack bare footed, without any cloathing but their ſhirts, and a little Highland dowblet, whereby they are certain to outrun any foot, and will not readily engage where horſe can follow the chafe any diſtance. Their way of fighting is to diuid theirfelves by clans, the chief or principal man being at their heads, with ſome diſtance to diſtinguiſh betwixt them. They come on slowly till they be within diſtance of firing, which, because they keep no rank or file, doth ordinarily little harm. When their fire is over, they throw away their firelocks, and every one drawing a long broad ſword, with his targe (ſuch as have them) on his left hand, they fall a running toward the ennemy, who, if he ſtand firm, they never fail of running with much more ſpeed back again to the hills, which they uſually take at their back, except they happen to be ſurprized by horſe or dragoons marching through a plain, or camping negligently; as the General four days thereafter ſurprized ten

of them at Perth, and Sir Thomas Livington the ensuing year in Strathfpey, as we shall have occasion to touch hereafter.

All our officers and fouldiers were strangers to the Highlanders way of fighting and embattailling, which mainly occasioned the confernation many of them were in ; which, to remedy for the ensuing year, having taken notice on this occasion that the Highlanders are of such a quick motion, that if a battalion keep up his fire till they be near to make fure of them, they are upon it before our men can come to their second deffence, which is the bayonet in the mufle of the musket. I fay, the General having obferved this method of the ennemy, he invented the way to fasten the bayonet fo to the mufle without, by two rings, that the fouldiers may safely keep their fire till they pour it into their breafts, and then have no other motion to make but to push as with a pick.

The General having got up the hill with five battalions and a troop of horfe, for Haftings and the other troops were not paft as yet, and feeing Dundee master of an eminence fo near him, refolved to make the beft of that ground, and rather receive the check there in good order, than to put his men out of breath and in diſorder, by attacking the ennemy againſt an hill. Betwixt the height which he had marched up from the river, and the foot of that whereon the ennemy were placed, there was a convenience to imbattail our men in one line, taking the former at our back, tho with a continued aſcent from us to them.

The General having got upon the ground which he had remarked, he began to even his line, leaving a little diſtance betwixt every little battalion, having made two of each, because he was to fight three deep ; only, in the midſt of the line, he left a greater opening where he placed the two troops of horfe (the other being come up juſt as he had taken his ground with Haftings battalion) of a deſign when the Highlanders approached, and that the fire of the line ſhould be ſpent, to make them fall out by the larger intervall, to flank the ennemy on either fide, as occaſion ſhould offer, not daring to expoſe them to the ennemy's horfe, which was composed all of gentlemen, reformed officers, or ſuch as had deferted of

Dundee's regiment out of England, which was the reason he placed them behind the foot till all the fire were over on both sides : He sent also a detachment of firelocks of each battalion to the right hand to fortify Hastings regiment, to whom he was obliged to leave that post. Being come up after he had taken his ground, not willing to make unnecessary motions so near the ennemy, and because the ennemy were so very close upon him, and he always in action giving his ground to every one, they distinguished him, which drew their papping shot over all where he moved, whereby severals were wounded before the engagement, and finding that Balfour had advanced too far his regiment out of the line, observing that the ennemy made no motion to attack as yet, after he had advertised them not to be surprised at the motion, because it was only to bring them in a line with the rest, lest they should be flanked ; he made them retire, and recommending the care of the left wing (betwixt which and the right there was a boggy ground, which, on a sudden could not without hazard of bogging be galloped) to the Brigadier Balfour, returned along the face of the line to the right, where finding all ready to receive the ennemy, he made a short speech to some of the battalions which stood nearest him, representing the unquestionable justice of the cause, regarding not only the Protestant interest in Britain, but in all the world, whose loss humanly seemed mainly to depend on the success of his Majesties enterprize, for the defence thereof, as well as of the temporal happiness of their country, confisiting in the maintenance of their laws, which confirmed it to them, besides the obligation of honour and conscience, which lay upon them not to betray by a criminal faintheartedness, their masters service, by whom they were entertained, and last of all their own safety ; assuring them that if they kept firm and close they should quickly see their ennemy's take the hills for their refuge : For which reason more than the hopes of pursuing the chace they stript themselves almost naked ; but on the other hand, if they happened to give way (as he should not expect) before that rabble of the Highlanders, they might freely conclude few or none of them should escape those naked pursuers far speedier of foot than they ; besides that all

the men of Athole were in arms ready to ftrip and knock in the head all runnaways: To avoid, then, those certain ruines, the only vifible mean was to stand to it, like men fighting for their religion and liberty against the invaders of both, which was the true ground of his Majesties enter-prise, and not the desire of a crown, as it was of all good men and true Protestant subjects in conjunction with and affittance to him therein, and not the proſpect of advantage by the change.

The ennemys being upon their ground much about the same time with us, seemed to extend their order beyond our right wing; which the General obſerving made his line move to the right by the flank, leaſt their deſign might be to flank, get betwixt him and the pafs, which would be a very advantagious poſt for them, whereby they could cut all communication betwixt us and Perth, from whence we expeſted fix troops of horse and dragoons more, as well as a further ſupply of provisions, and where they could, by the favour of the Athole men, ſublift, and have convenience to joyn as many horse and foot as Dundee's credit in the counties of Angus and Perth could procure in a conſiderable number, without that we could hinder them but by making a motion which readily might fur-niſh them occaſion to attack us with a ſeen advantage: which motion brought the ennemy, whatever his deſign might have been, to a ſtand, and fo we looکt upon one another for at leaſt two hours.

The General not willing to attack, for the reaſons already alledged, and the Highlanders apparently out of irrefolution, which he apprehended to be of deſign to expeſt the night, wherein they might happily hope to frighten our men by a ſudden motion doun the hill with a loud shout, after their manner, very likely to put new men unaccuſtomea with an ennemy in a fright and diſorder, tho' they could be kept more allert and ready then he could hope for during the whole night; neither durſt he venture to pafs the river in their preſence and fo near them, both by reaſon of the hazard, the ſouldiers, ordinarily taking ſuch a motion for a ſubjeſt of apprehenſion, and the imputation which he had to expeſt, if he were beat in retiring. He refolved then to ſtand it out, tho' with-

great impatience, to fee the ennemy come to a resolution, either of attacking or retiring, whereof they had more choice than he ; and to provoke them, he ordered the firing of three little leather field-pieces, which he caused carry on horse-back with their carriages, which proved of little use, because the carriages being made too high to be more conveniently carried, broke with the third firing.

The ennemy having a full view of our forces, by reason of the height they possest above us, discerned presently the General, which drew their shot into all places where he stood or walked, whereby severals of our men were wounded before the engagement ; and to have the so much nearer aim, they possest themselves of some houses upon the ascent of the height whereon they stood, which the General not willing to suffer, least the ennemy should be emboldned thereby, ordered his brother, commanding his own regiment, before whose front the houses were, to detach a captain with some fire-locks to dislodge them ; judging withall that that skirmish might draw on a general engagement, which he earnestly longed for before the night approached. The captain chased the ennemy's detachment to their body with the loss of some of their number ; but shortly thereafter, and about half an hour before sunset, they began to move down the hill.

The General had already commanded the officers, commanding battalions, to begin their firing at the distance of 100 paces by platoons, to discourage the approaching Highlanders meeting with continual fire : That part of their forces which stood opposite to Hastings, who had the right of all, before the Generals, Levins and Kenmore's regiments, came down briskly together with their horse, and notwithstanding of a brisk fire, particularly from the General's own battalion, whereby many of the chief gentlemen of the name of Macdonald, who attacked it, were killed, pushed their point, after they had fired their light pieces at some distance, which made little or no execution, with sword in hand, tho' in great confusion, which is their usuall way : Which when the General observed, he called to the Lord Belhaven to march up with the first troop of horse, ordering him to flank to the left hand the ennemy, the fire being then

paf on all hands, and coming to handy frokes if our men had stood, appointing the fecond troop to do the fame to the right; but scarcely had Belhaven got them without the front of the line, where they had orders to wheel for the flank, tho' their very appearance made the ennemy turn away from the place where they saw the horfe coming up, but contrary to orders, they began to pafs, not knowing whereat, and preſently turned about, as did also Kenmore's and the half of Levin's battalion.

The General obſerving the horfe come to a ſtand, and firing in conſuſion, and the foot beginning to fall away from him, thinking happily that the horfe would be picked to follow his example, and in all caſes to diſengage himſelf out of the croud of Highlanders which came down juſt upon the place where he was calling to the officers of the horfe to follow him, ſpurr'd his horfe through the ennemy, (where no body neveſt heleſ followed him, but one of his fervants, whose horfe was ſhot in paſſing,) where he judged, by the way they made for him, tho' alone, that if he had had but fifty reſolute horfe, ſuch as Colcheſter's, he had certainly, by all human appearance recovered all, notwithstanding the foot was juſt plying over all, tho' ſooner upon the left, which was not attacked at all, than to the right, because the right of the ennemy had not budged from their ground when their left was engaged. Balfour's regiment did not fire a ſhot, and but the half of Ramſays made ſome little fire. Lieutenant Colonel Lawder was poſted advantageouſly upon the left of all, on a little hill wreathed with trees, with his party of 200 of the choice of our army, but did as little as the reſt of that hand, whether by his or his mens fault is not well known, for the General would never make ſearch into the failings of that buſineſs, becauſe they were a little too generally committed; reſolution and preſence of mind in battle being certainly a ſingular mercy of God, he denyeth and giveth it when and to whom he will, for there are ſeafons and occaſions, that the moſt firm and stout-hearted do quake and ſhake for fear: As Solomon faith, "The wicked flee when none purſueth, but the righteous is bold as a Lyon;" and tho' all ſincere christians be not reſolute, it is becauſe it is not their vocation, for I dare

be bold to affirm that no truly sincere christian, trufing in God for strenth and support, going about his lawfull calling, shall be forsaken of him, whether military, civil, or ecclesiastick ; not that sure victory shall always attend good men, or that they shall always escape with their lives, for experiance doth teach the contrary, but that God, upon whom they cast their burdens and care, shall so care for them, that they shall be preserved from shame and confusion, and that they have his promisess by whom are the issuess against death and innumerable means inconceivable to us, to redrefs the diforders of our affairs, to support their hope and mind in the greatest of difficulties : As the General confesseth, that immediately upon this defeat, and as he was marching of the field, he could not cast his thoughts upon any present means to redrefs his breach, but recommended earnestly unto God to direct his judgement and mind to fall upon such methods as the successe should manifest him to be the chief Author thereof, wherein he hath also been heard, as the purſuit of this relation shall demonstrate. But to return to our purpoſe. Having paffed through the croud of the attacking Highlanders, he turned about to ſee how matters ſtood, and found that all his left had given way, and got down the hill which was behind our line, ranged a little above the brow thereof, ſo that in the twinkling of an eye in a manner, our men, as well as the ennemy, were out of fight, being got down pall mall to the river where our baggage ſtood.

At which ſad ſpectacle it may be eaſily judged how he was furprized, to ſee at firſt view himſelf alone upon the field, but looking further to the right he espyed a ſmall hept of red coats, whither galloping, he found it to be a part of the Earle of Levin's regiment, with himſelf, his Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and moft of his officers upon their head, whom the General praifeſed for their ſtedfaſtneſſe ; but ſeeing the men in conuſion, there being ſome few of other regiments got among them, prayed the Earle with his officers to ſee to get them ſpeedily in condition to receive the ennemy, whom he minutely expeſted, while he galloped further to a part of Haſtings, which the Colonel was marching up to their firſt ground, which he affirmed to have loſt in purſuit of the ennemy, who, thinking to fall in

his flank, he wheeled with his picks to the right upon them, whereby they leaving him, repaired to the rest of their forces, which they saw among the baggage at the river-side, the plundering whereof gave time to many of our runnaways to get off, and having joined Hastings with the rest of Levins, he dispatched a nephew of his, captain of his regiment, seeing him on horseback, (tho he had eight wounds with broad swords upon his body) after his runnaways to exhort all officers, whom he could meet with, to keep up their men, and labour to bring them back to joyn him, in which case he assured them of advantage.

Mean time seeing the officers could bring their men into no order, and looking every minute for the ennemy's appearing, he visited a garden which was behind, of a design to put them in there in expectation of succour, but presently changed his purpose, considering, if succour failed, as readily would fall out, there was no hope of escaping out of the ennemy's hands by defending an inclosure so far from new relief.

While he was in those irresolutions, in expectation of his nephews return, he brought at last news that all was gone clear away out of all reach, and that such as he had spoke to, noticed him not; mean time he espied numbers of men as it were forming themselves along the edge of the wood which was on Balfour's left, and where Lawder had been posted with 200 men, and because he had not as yet been particularly informed of the behaviour of that wing, and it being already after sun-set, he was doubtful whether those men might not be some of his own men, who had retired to the wood upon the Highlanders descent; so, exhorting the officers to labour to get their men in a condition to make at least one discharge if they were attacked, galloped up to the wood to view those men nearer, which having discovered to be ennemy's, he stepped back softly to his men, and bid them have special care to march off very softly, whereby happily the ennemy judging they were resolved to receive them briskly, would have respect for them and let them retire quietly, the obscurity hindring them of a full view of our number, but that if they should offer to run, they should be sure to have the Highlanders among them; so, leading them softly down

the hill he paſt the river, where he halted a little to get over all his men, and to obſerve whether the ennemy would approach the river after him. A little before his retreat the Lord Belhaven with the Earle of Annan-dales Lieutenant and Cornet and ſome four or five horfemen came up to us, which ſerved for ſcouts to diſcover during the retreat.

The ennemy loſt on the field fix for our one, the fire to our right having been continued and briſk, whereby not only Dundee, with feveral gentlemen of quality of the countys of Angus and Perth, but also many of the beſt gentlemen among the Highlanders, particularly of the Macdonalds of the Iſles and Glengarie were killed, coming down the hill upon Haſtings, the General, and Levin's regiments, which made the beſt fire and all the execution; particularly the Generals battalion made great fire, being well exerciſed thereto by his brother, who, being his lieutenant colonel, commanded the battalion, and was killed on the ſpot with feveralſ of the old fouldiers pickmen, who ſtood by him after the ſhot had run away: There were alſo two captains and five ſubalterns of that battalion killed, and the other two captains left wounded upon the ſpot; for certainly the greateſt force of that fide was poured upon that battalion, and the reaſon was that ſome, who were officers among the ennemy, had carried arms in the regiment abroad, and were of opinion if it were beat that it would facilitate the reſt of the work; but there was a great diſference betwixt it, when they had known it, and this time, as was alſo of the other two regiments come out of Holland, which were moſtly new levied men, the King having taken away their beſt and oldeſt men to recruit the Dutch regiments in England. The reaſon of the firmity of Levins regiment, was firſt, that they were not fo numerouſly attacked, and ſecondly, that he had many more officers proportionable to the number of men than the three Dutch regiments, and very good briſk gentlemen; the fame advantage Haſting's had, beſides that I prefer the Englifh commonality in my judgment in matter of courage to the Scots. The Brigadier Balfour was killed labouring with a few perſons by him to get off, after his regiments had abandoned him. There was a lieutenant colonel of Kenmore's regiment alſo

killed, and a captain of Ramsay's with some more officers, which I do not remember, only that most part of the slaughter and imprisonment of officers and soldiers was in the chase.

The General having got the small rests of his forces safely over the river, and seeing no disposition, so far as he could discern, of the enemy to pursue him, he bethought himself which way he had best retire; and notwithstanding of the contrary advice of all the officers who would have him to descend the plain country of Athole to Dunkeld and Perth, he resolved rather to march into the Highlands three or four miles, and then over to Strath Tay and along the foot of the hills, over the Castle of Drummond, where he had a garrison, to Stirling, whither he resolved to make all the speed possible to fall upon some present measures; but tho' there were who represented to him that those few affrighted men would make no resistance if the enemy pursued, together with the necessity of his making haste southward, he would never resolve to alter his resolution with those few men till he had conducted them into a place of security, notwithstanding he was very well satisfied of the truth of what they alledged. The reason of the resolutions was, that he apprehended more the pursuit of Dundee (whom he knew not to have been killed) with his horse, than that of the Highlanders, whom he knew to be so greedy of plunder that their general would not get them that night to pursue us; therefor he resolved to keep the most inaccessible ground for horse, besides that he knew all the men of Athole would be in arms and run the whole night and next day upon the runaways, therefore resolved to quite altogether the tract of that country, and tho' he was pursued, his men would not fight; as well as of the necessity of his hasting to Stirling; he judged it would tend to the disreputation of the service, as of himself in particular, if after he had got off those few men in a body in presence of the enemy, they should happen by his leaving them to be dispersed and fall into their hands, resolving at the same time never to halt much for such as would not keep up, because of the consequence, both of loosing time, and of the enemy's, and such of the people of the country through which he must

needs march off, as this success would induce to declare for them cutting before him, which they might easily do with hopes, tho they should not be advertised of his rout till next morning: Marching then off, as he had concluded, he met in the obscurity about two miles off the field of battle with Colonel Ramfay, who had kept up the matter of 150 runaways altogether almost without arms, and knew not in the world how he shoud best get them off; whom the General having joyn'd into his party, continued his way up a little river, which fell into that which he had crossed before, till he came to some little houses where he saw light, and having got out the man of the house, enquired of him concerning the ground and the way to Strath Tay and the Laird of Weem's lands, who was our friend, his eldest son having been in the action with a company of 100 Highlanders, which he levied for their Majesties service. The countryman having sufficiently informed him of all his demands, and guessting himself at the situation of the country, by the map, so far that he could not carry him far out of the way, he crossed that second river, and past through very ill ground over hills and boggs to the Weem; and next morning at the dawning of the day the people of Strath Tay, alarmed with our approach, whom they took for the Highlanders, and fearing for their houses and cattle, did raise a great noise and shout, whereat our men, judging it to be the ennemy, got before them, and began all to break off to the hills, if the General and some officers on horseback had not, with their pistols in hand, threatened them back again; but the obscurity hindring a full view at any distance, the matter of 100 or more got away, who altogether were knockt in the head and stript, or taken prisoners, and we pursued our march with very little halt all that day, being on a Sunday, the 28th July, discovering the country all along as we marched in uproar, and arrived late in the night at the Castle of Drummond, and next day at Stirling, finding all the county of Perth in arms in favour of the rebels, tho no considerable body of them together as yet.

At Stirling the General met with Major General Lanier, whom the council had sent there to form a body of what forces were in the south to

maintain the River of Forth and the paſt and bridge of Stirling, of whom having informed himſelf of what orders had been diſtributed upon the news of this defeat, and finding that Barcklay's regiment had been com-manded to Dundee out of the county of Aberdeen, that Sir John had diſpatched orders for his own regiment, which lay at Anwick and Morpeth in England, to march down to Edinburgh, and that all their thoughts and meaſures tended to abandon the northern counties of Scotland to the en-nemy's, he reſolved to alter thoſe meaſures, (knowing how hard a pull he would have) of the Scots war, if he left the north, which are abſolutely the beſt men of that kingdom for the war, to the diſcretion of the en-nemy, where he would not only get great numbers to joyn them, but alſo take poſſeſſion of touns and feize upon the publick revenues, whereby they could form a faſhion of government, and ſo have more plauſible ways, not only to maintain, but alſo to ingroſs their party, than ever they have had; beſides the party they had ſecured on both fides of the borders of the two kingdoms ready to declare for them upon the firſt proſpect of a fa-vourable ſucceſs, and the rupture already beginning in that part of the parliament, which had been moft determined for their Majeſties govern-ment, which, in all appearance, would hinder the reſolutions of that great court of the nation in favour; and having upon thoſe and the like other reaſons grounded his deſign, he ſent, on Tuesdays morning, orders to 8 troops of new levied horſe, 4 of dragoons of the fame ſort, and the Lord Colcheſter's regiment of horſe, to march to Stirling, Wedneſday morning, not exceeding in all 500. Colcheſter's regiment being very weak, and the new troops not compleat, writing to Duke Hamilton, that the parliament ſhould not be alarmed at what paſt, but proceed in their affairs, while he ſhould lose no time nor ſpare any pains to hinder the en-nemy from proſiting by their victory, ordering Sir John Lanier to return to Edinburgh to haſten the march of his own regiment of horſe with Hay-ford's dragoons, the former conſiſting of 9, and the latter of 8 troops; diſ-charging at the fame time the weſt country men, whereof ſome thouſands were gathering together upon the news of the defeat; the General not

willing that thofe people, whose pretensions appeared already exorbitant enough, shoule have ground to think that the King could not without them maintain his government, except neceſſity ſhould drive them, but rather to make uſe of any uſſour than ſee the ennemys of the gospel fortify themſelves in the kingdom. On Wednesdays morning, having got his horſe and dragoons to the park of Stirling, and paſſed them in review, and leaving order with a new battalion of foot to follow him, he marched out of Stirling about two in the afternoon, taking his way ſtraight to Perth, from whence nevetheleſs he could not poſſibly get any news, all the country betwixt it and Stirling being in arms, and moft part abſent from their houſes. He halted a part of that night for fear of ambuſhes in a vilage half way to Perth, and next morning at the break of day purſued his way toward the water of Earn, a little river three miles ſhort of Perth, where four of his ſcouts, not above a muſket ſhot before the party, according to their order, (lef t they being ſurprized ſhould diſcover our motion to the ennemy) met with two briſk horſemen of the ennemys party, who, at‐tacking our men with a loud “ qui vive,” made them fire upon the ennemy in a furprize, and hap‐pened to ſhoot the one dead, and the other ſo that tho he ſpake ſome words, he had no ſenſe of what was enquired of him.

This encounter made the General judge that happily the ennemys main body was not far off, wherefor he quitt the road and enlarged himſelf over a ſteep hill above which there was a great heath, where the Marquis of Montroſe had obtained a notable vi‐cory over the Parliament’s forces in the reign of King Charles the First, and having, about this place, got no‐tice that ſome foot and horſe of the ennemy were come to Perth, inſtead of moving ſtraight toward the toun, he took his way to the left to fall in betwixt them, and the groſs of their party camped at Dunkeld, 14 miles below the place where he had fought, and being advanced in fight of the toun of Perth, he diſcovered the matter of thirty horſe of the ennemy al‐ready paſſed the river of Tay, and ſo out of reach; but within one half mile without the ſaid toun was a small party of foot about 300, who, upon the diſcovery of our party, came to ane halt as irrefolute what to do.

The General, knowing the river to be low and fordable about that place, detached the four troops of dragoons to gallop all their best down to them to prevent their passage ; at which motion the party of the enemy returned toward the town again, and the General, not knowing what number they might have in the village, where he had first discovered them, not having any sure intelligence where their main body lay to prevent their entry into the town, having no foot by him to force the entry upon them, he detached three troops of Colchester's horse at the gallop to fall in betwixt them and that retreat following close with the rest in good order ; after he had left detachments upon the heights, where they could discover to all hands from whence an enemy could approach. At the appearance of those detachments the enemy threw themselves into the river, where the horse and dragoons mixed with them, and killed the master of 120, and took 30 prisoners. They were all Athole-men, and were so opiniater or stupified that not one of them called for quarters. We lost but one man in the action, who followed indiscreetly 4 or 5 Highlanders a great way from his comrades.

Of this little action, which nevertheless served to good purpose, the General sent the Lord Belhaven, captain of horse, to give account to Duke Hamilton, Lord High Commissioner from the King to the then sitting Parliament, and took his post at Perth to observe the enemy as near as he could till he got more forces together, writing to Sir John Lanier to hafte the down march of his regiment and Hayfords, and sent for a battalion of his own regiment, which lay at Stirling, to come to Perth, being resolved to take the field with his party of horse and dragoons upon the first motion of the enemy to keep him out of the plain country, and from fortifying himself with a junction of horse, which was that he wanted most, and wrote to Sir Thomas Livingston, giving him account of the state of affairs, ordering to put Inuerneis in the best posture he could, and assuring him that if the enemy turned head that way, he should quickly see him upon the head of 14 or 1500 horse and dragoons in their rear. Meantime, the General gave orders for the pallisading of the most passable

places of Perth, knowing that the Highlanders are not good attackers where they cannot run to with sword in hand, and keep strong guards, and sent out parties in the night to bring notice of the ennemy, in case he shoud move toward him.

At the end of three or four days he was advertized that a considerable number of Highlanders met from several hands had joined him upon the noice of their victory, together with Lord James Murray, son to the Marquis of Athole, and all the faid Marquis's vassals; and that Canon, who now commanded in chief for King James in Scotland after Dundee's death, had made a motion from Dunkeld toward the north, along the edge of the plains, keeping always the hills close upon his left, in case of the approach of any number of horse: Whereof the General being for certain advertized and apprehending for the northern counties, ordered Sir John Lanier, with the horse and dragoons which he expected out of England, to come with all diligence to Perth, (where the General left two battalions of foot,) where he was to post himself till further advertisement from him; who, passing the River Tay, marched to Cowper, ten miles from Perth, a little country town in Angus, not far from the foot of the hills, and there having spoke some of his men who escaped from the ennemy upon their march, was told that they continued their march further north, which obliged him to advance toward Forfar, within eight miles of Glenila, where he understood the ennemy was camped; from whence Canon moved to Clova, much about the same distance from the General's quarters, who, being but weak, and most part new levies, placed himself in the fields every night, and in the morning after he sent out some scouts, and placed his sentries upon the heights about his quarter, did let his men rest and refresh themselves.

After he had been two nights at Forfar, he got sure intelligence that Canon had passed a very high mountain, called Mount Capel, into Braemar, where the General had a garrison in the House of Abergeldie, from which place he might, with equal convenience and prospect of success, turn either toward Inuernes or Aberdeen, where their party had many friends and well-

wishers. Therefor, to hinder as much as possible the ennemy's progres till more forces could be had, he wrote orders to Sir John Lanier to come to Forfar, left the ennemy, making a feint to draw him to the north, might suddenly return the same way south, and into Angus again; and took his way straight to Aberdeen, where he arrived the seconf day to the great joy of the most part of the inhabitants, who otherwife expe&cted the Highland army in their town that very night. There he was advertised by an expre&s from the master of Forbes that Canon had taken a very strong poft upon his father's ground, where he had the Highlands at his back, a wood to cover him, and free communication with his friends in the plain country of Aberdeen and Banff, which made the General judge, that the ennemy, knowing him to want foot, and his horse and dragoons but small in number, took that poft of purpofe to fecure the jun&ction of their friends in thofe countries, to make up a body of horfe, with their foot, which at this time we judged odds of 4000 foot, with 150 horfe, wherefore he pre&ently di&patched an expre&s to Sir Thomas Livington to leave the command of the forces in and about Inuerneſt to Sir James Leslie, and to repair over Spey and toward Strathbogy, 24 miles benorth Aberdeen, with his regiment of dragoons, ordering him in cafe he found the ennemy to approach to that rout, to take his march more to the left over the plains, and to fend continual expre&ſſes to give account of his diligence, di&patching at the fame time orders to Sir John Lanier to fend Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen, where he ſhould find further dire&ctions; by the jun&ction of which regiments he doubted not to overturn all the deſigns of the ennemy.

The General refled a day at Aberdeen, giving order for beaking of bread to his party to be fent after him, tho' he could give no dire&ctions as yet to what place it ſhould be fent him, being obliged to obſerve the ennemy; to which end he moved up toward the Lord Forbes's lands, and upon his march, being adver&tised that Canon moved further north towards the Duke of Gordon's lands, to prevent any deſign upon Livington, and hinder the joyning of the northern countries with the ennemy, the Ge-

neral, having refreshed his party in the field for some hours of that night, marched by the break of day towards Strathbogy, by which motion he covered Livingston's march, fending back orders to Hayford to follow him with his dragoons. At Strathbogy, the ennemy being posted within 4 or 5 miles of him, he viewed the ground and took up the most proper for the nature of his party, whereof he considered Livingston's henceforth, for he expected him, according to his orders that same night; and visited round about his post by day, but placed no guards or sentries till it was dark, that the country men, whom he suspected to be Duke Gordon's people, should not know the particular posts which he designed for the security of his party, with which, tho' without tents, he always for six weeks together lodged in the field in a body, and would never separate. Livingston joined him the night he came to Strathbogy. Next morning he sent out 100 horse and dragoons under Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie to view the ennemys countenance, and bring account how they were posted, being resolved to march up to them as soon as Hayford should joyn him. At our partys approach the ennemy was alarmed, judging our whole body followed, notwithstanding they were so posted in woods and bogs that no horse could attack them.

Next day the General sent out a greater party, ordering Edinglassie to approach the ennemy's camp from another way, because he [was] assured they would lay their ambuscades the way he had been before, which he found to be so. The General was obliged to fatigue his men in parties and detached guards in this country more then in several others where he had been before, because he could not lean much to the intelligences which were brought him by the country people; therefor he had every night small parties out round about his quarters, but most towards the ennemy's camp. Hayford being joined with his regiment, and the General waiting only for some bread from Aberdeen, to march straight to the ennemy's post, notice is brought him, that they returned again toward the River of Dee, which obliged him to follow them to Cromar and the said River, where having further intelligence that Canon had past

the hills into the counties of Merns and Angus, he not finding himself above 11 or 1200 horse and dragoons in number, judged he could not without manifest hazard venture that paflage after the ennemy odds of 4000 strong, it being a way where horse could do little or no service. Therefor, being fully certified that the ennemy had paft the said mountains, he descended the River of Dee, the matter of 30 miles in one day, till he came to Aberdeen, dispatching an exprefs to Sir John Lanier to advertise him of the ennemy's motion. Mean time the General was in continual motion with a very fmall party to hinder the growth and progres of the ennemy.

The Court, being alarumed with the news of the defeat in Athole, with the General's death, ordered General Ghinekell to march to the borders with 9 or 10 squadrons of Dutch horse lying in Yorkshire. Which orders, when the news of the General's being in health and in the field again, with the little renconter at Perth, were countermanded. When we were at Strathbogy, the Council wrote to the General that they wished he would garrison the House of Blair in Athole with that of Finlarie before the rains came on, which begin early in thofe countries. To whom he returned anfwer, that he could not quitt the ennemy fo long as he continued in a body fo formidably ; withall that the fervice which they propofed required no hafte, becaufe thofe houfes being near the plain countries, he was fure to render himfelf mafter of them at any time. But if their Lordfhips were very bent upon it, they might command Sir John Lanier to draw out fome foot to joyn to his regiment with Barclay's, which lay at Forfar, by the Generals order, who alfo had, at his north going, ordered the three battalions of the Dutch regiments which had not been at the late encounter in Athole, to poft themfelves under Colonel Ramsay at Perth, where he was come before this time. The Council, upon the General's anfwer, without confideration of the infufficiencie of the place for defence, ordered the Earle of Angus's regiment to Dunkeld, ten miles above Perth, separate from all speedy fuccour, and expoſed to be carried by infult, without the leaſt proſpect of advancement to the fervice by their

being posted there ; but an assur'd expectation of being attacked, because the ennemy had not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiment made them generally hated and feared in the northern countries ; whereby it might be easily judged, that the men of Athole now fully declared for the rebellion would not fail to lay hold upon the occasion to cut them off, finding them so disadvantageously lodged, and therefor sent to give advertisement of the occasion to defeat them to Canon, who, having past the hills, as above, thought to play his personage alone in the county of Angus. But Sir John Lanier, posted at Forfar with his own and Barclay's regiment, marched towards Brechin, near which toun the ennemys were advanced. Whereupon, after a little skirmish (where some of both sides were killed) betwixt their fore party or scouts, the Highlanders thought fit to quite the plain ground to Sir John, who knew nothing that the regiment of Angus had been so disadvantageously posted, nor that, about this very instant, Canon had received the mesage from the men of Athole concerning the said regiment, and the opportunity offered to cut it off.

Upon the ennemy's retreat to the hills Sir John Lanier returned to Forfar, where he received orders from the Council to march to Athole and Finlarie, to garrison those houfes. Whereupon he marched next day to Cowper of Angus, within ten miles of Perth as well as of Dunkeld, where he received advertisement from Colonel Ramsay of the Highlanders approach to Dunkeld, where they could not miss of defeating the regiment of Angus, desiring to know his orders what was to be done. Sir John, being altogether a stranger to the country, delayed to order any thing till he should be at Perth next day, in which interim, if the Providence of God had not blinded Canon, and disheartned his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high. But if a sparrow fall not to the ground without the Providence of our Heavenly Father, much more may we

conclude that the lot of the children of men is over ruled by his Providence.

This attack, which our own people, as well as the ennemy judged could not fail, produced clear another effect; for after that day the Highlanders got a low esteem of the conduct of Canon, who could never oblige the Highlanders to attack after the first repulse, tho' he had all the reason in the world for this enterprize; which, without any manner of doubt, the half of their number of the same forces which they had beat a little before in the field would have carried with as little difficultie as loss. But the Highlanders are not of passive courage, so that when they meet with any thing to stop their first fury, and hinder their running upon their ennemys with sword in hand, they are soon rebated, and cannot stand before fire tho' never so irregular and small, whereof this is a great instance; for tho' they lost not twenty men in the attack, Canon could never bring them to it the second time.

If Sir John Lanier had known the situation of the country, or that Colonel Ramsay or others had known and considered the matter, and how those people might be best and speediest succoured, the surest way certainly had been to make the forces lying at Perth, immediately upon Sir John's approach to Cowper, pass the river of Tay at Perth to joyn Sir John, and so unitedly march to Dunkeld, which lay upon that side of the river; because by marching on the other side the ennemy might force Angus's quarter, they looking on and not able to help them. Ramsay had sent up to their assistance three troops of dragoons upon the first alarm of the ennemy's approach to Dunkeld; but afterward, judging they could not help much to the defence of that post, ordered them back. Upon which order, when the ennemy was already in presence to attack the post, they marched off, pretending they could not disobey orders, tho' to the palpable discouragement of men, who saw themselves abandoned to the fury of their implacable ennemys without possibility of a retreat, and as little likelihood of succour, and contrary to the protestations of the Commander of the regiment Lieutenant Colonel Cle-

land, a sensible resolute man, though not much of a soldier, who charged those retiring dragoons with the loss and blood of that regiment. In this business the Council failed, by giving special order for the posting of forces, which they ought to have left to the judgment of officers. Ramsay failed (happily by too much respect for the Council's order, which he ought to have considered conditionally) first, by not stopping the regiment at Perth, giving the Council reason of his so doing, 2dly, that, upon the approach of the Highlanders, he did not either march with all the forces, which he had at Perth, to maintain the post if he judged it of consequence, or provided Cleland with orders, if he found not the place tenable against such numbers as he could expect against him, to make a timely retreat, giving at the same time advertisement to him that he might make a motion up the river to favour his retreat; for all officers, who are not tyed by express orders from their superiors in command, are answerable for the neglects of the service, as much as the chief commander, tho' he were present, when they by their rank fall to command in chief a body of the forces. Ramsay complained also, that Sir John Lanier delayed his resolution too long after he had given him account of the pressing danger of the post of Dunkeld.

The General, as was touched above, having been obliged rather than to venture the passage of the mountains without foot after the Highlanders to make the tour of Aberdeen; wher leaving Sir Thomas Livingston with his regiment six troops of horse and three of Cardross's dragoons to keep all those northern countries in awe, he marched with all speed to joyn Sir John Lanier, and at Brechin getting notice of the Council's order to Lanier, he dispatched an express to desire he might delay his march to Athole till he had join'd him, which he did about the beginning of September, and so with the most part of the horse, foot and dragoons, which he carried with him, and found assembled at Perth, marched after the ennemy, threatening to leave not a standing house in Athole, and to burn and destroy all their corn if the House of Blair, where he designed a garrison, should be burned by the ennemy. Which rigorous message saved the house, which otherwife was the interest of the ennemy as well as that of the

Marquis of Athole and the whole country to have burnt, being confious of their own guilt, and by consequence having no ground to expect favourable treatement of a garrison among them ; nevertheless the prospēt of a present apparent rain made them spare the house, and the General, notwithstanding the Athole men were the principal occasion of all the troubles and disapoyntments he had met with during that whole summer, he spared their country, contrary to the formed desighn of the most part of the officers of the army, and received upon the terms of his Majestie's gracious indemnitie all the inhabitants of that country who submitted themselves and delivered up their arms : for he followed forth an inviolable maxim to destroy none so long as there was any hopes of reclaiming men from pursuing so blindly their own and their country's ruin. But the rains began so violently the same day we marched from Perth, and continued not only all the time we lay camped at Blair, about 10 days, but for two months continually thereafter, that the General having sent, according to the King's order, the regiments of Lanier, Hayford and Hastings to the west to be shipped over for Ireland, as he did those of Colchester's and Barclay immediately into England to be made up again, he was necessitate to retire with the foot down the country to Perth again, contrary to his resolution to march to the head of Lochtay with a good detachment to garrison the house of Finlarie, belonging to the Earle of Broadalbin, one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom, not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government, and to try if, by such a motion, the Highlanders, being now separated each to his own country, not understanding happily the impossibilities of acting any thing against them for that year, might happen thereby to be intimidated so as to submit to the government. But the continual rains, as is said, forced him to retire the forces (after he had given order for the fortifying of Blair Castle with a pallifade and braftwork, and left nine companies of foot in it) to Perth, where he distributed them in the nearest villages in expe&ctation of fair weather, which he expe&cted in vain some two weeks there in perfon.

At last having received letters from London to take under his care 1000 Danish forces, to see them disbarked at Leith, mustered and marched to the west of Scotland, and reimbarked for Ireland ; and finding the wind favourable for their passage, he went to Edinburgh, communicated his orders to the Council, and obtained their order for taking of bread and providing of forrage along the road where they should march through. Which done, seeing the rains continue, and all hopes of doing any thing more for that season in the field being lost, he returned to Perth, and made a detachment under command of the Lord Cardross to garrison Finlarie, which he executed without any encounter with the ennemy.

The General, apprehending the consequence of the devision broached in Parliament concerning the Lords of the Session, had writ to the Earle of Portland in favours of the Earle of Annandale and the Lord Ross, as persons of whom he believed well, and might be usefull for his Majesty in the beginning of his reign, having rendered themselves very popular among the Presbyterians, the only party upon whom he could lay stres for the support of their Majestie's government ; representing to the Earle the dangerous consequence for his Majesty to take all his measures for a kingdom (to which he was necessarily altogether a stranger) by the information and counsel of two or three labouring to secure the administration of the government thereof to themselves and their families ; and that in his opinion the furest measures for his Majesty, as well as for his Lordship, would be to give a fair hearing to all parties, whereby he must necessarily be better informed, and more capable by consequence to judge of matters rightly. Which letter he had writ with the said Lords from Forfar after they had declared upon their honour and conscience never to have intended nor to do (whatever the King's determination in the matter in question should happen to be) the least step contrary to their Majestie's interest and service.

During the General's abode at Perth, he received a letter from the Lord Melvil, sole Secretary of State for Scotland, signifying that the King being

refolved to break fome of the regiments paid with Scots money, because the Parliament was not like to grant new fubsidies. The Court, not fauouring well their addrefs, desired to be informed which of them deserved best to be kept on foot. Which motion he opposed with all the reasons he could alledge, confidering that the divifions of the Parliament began already to raiſe the loſt hopes of the rebels, wherein not only Parliament, but Council Members fortified them ; and tho' thofe levies never came to confiderable perfe&tion, yet the very name of them did keep many in aw, who, upon a ceſſation, would lift the mask ; that he muſt needs separate the forces about 250 miles, to ſecure the low countries from the ennemy's attempts, who otherwife would render themſelves maſters of a confiderable part of them, and ſo have a better proſpect of continuing the rebellion by fortifying their party with horſe, and ſecuring a country fit to maintain them. Thoſe with other reaons he offered to the confideration of the King, to be repreſented to him by the Lord Secretary, for the prevention of the ceſſation, whereof he apprehended great inconvenience and hazard for his Maſteſty's ſervice ; deſiring mean while, if the King was poſitive in breaking fome of the flanding forces, he might ſpeedily be adverſized of the number which was refolved to be continued on foot, that he might make his diſpoſitions of winter quarters accordingly, and that there was ſo little diſference to be found betwixt the regiments as yet, that his Maſteſty's fauour might be the rule for the modell of the regiments to be kept up. Of which letter and propositiōn he had not the leaſt anſwer for odds of ten weeks thereafter.

The General now apprehending the Parliament either would not meet, or if it came together it would not agree to the conſent of a fubſidy till they had the matter of the ſeſſion regulated to their mind, and feeing the King truſt wholly to the advice of the Secretary, who was inſluenced by the Lord Tarbat, whose iñteſt was not to let the Parliament fit, fearing they ſhould fall upon his no more than Melvils, who, finding himſelf in the whole credit of the government, thought it not very ſafe to fall under the diſputes of a mutinous Parliament, which

oftentimes Princes have been obliged to gratify with the losf of their most intimate favourites. Judging that in either of these cases King James's party would become strong, and their Majestie's affairs brought into great disorders, whereof the iſſue might prove doubtfull, he infisted extremely to have liberty to go for Holland ſome few months of the winter ſeafon wherein he knew the ennemy could do no conſiderable harm ; and to facilitate his deſign, got Major General Monro, an old German as well as British ſouldier, who uſtood the matter of the Highlands pretty well, to be made a counſellor, with a yearly penſion, to help the Council to take the neceſſary measures for the ſecurity of the ſervice in his abſence.

But Tarbat and Melvill knowing, or at leaſt believing, that he preſt that liberty not ſo much to be in Holland, as by the King, to repreſent things ſo to his Majefty as that he ſhould be obliged to follow other counſels and methods for his affairs in Scotland, or if he found his ennemys credit too ſtrong for him to lay at the Kings feet his commission of Commander in Chief of their Majefties Forces in Scotland, which was his true deſign and reſolution : They, I ſay, not willing he ſhould ſee the King, tho they contrived to have him removed from that command, oppoſed his getting of the deſired forloof, tho he was made to hope at his firſt fuit for it, ſo that the General, who expeſted for certain his forloof about the beginning of November, the Danish troops being by ſtorm put out of their road and moſtly landed pretty ſoutherly in England, received a letter from the Earle of Portland, ſhewing that the King would willingly ſee that kingdom in a more ſettled ſtate before he left it ; whereby he began to conſider the Earle henceforth preoccupied by Melvills and Tarbats information of matters, conceiving that the King as well as the Earle of Portland conſidering him as from his youth a ſtranger to Scotland, beſides that his profeſſion hitherto promiſed no great ability in him concerning matters of ſtate, and would have no great regard to what he could alledge againſt the reaſons of ſuch an old politician as Tarbat, which certainly was a miſtake ; for to a man, who had been wretſling with diſculties in that kingdom already nine months, as the General by the politick and double dealing of Tarbat

and others of his principles there, needed not much cunning to discover that they governed themselves neither by the interest of Kings, country or religion, but by their own, in all their actions ; and tho the General believed Melvil a wellwisher of their Majesties government in general, nevertheless he discovered him to be so bent upon the making up of his family in whom he would have lodged all the places of trust and profit of the kingdom, which at last he got effectuate, that he was ready to embrace and promote all counsels which he discovered to tend to his own establishment, not examining how prejudicial they might prove to the general interest of King and kingdom, that not being so much the subject of his contrivances as the other.

Tarbat in the mean time saw, that if by his counsel for adjourning the Parliament matters succeeded to the King's satisfaction in Scotland, Melvil's credit, who was but his mouth, would be established, and by consequence his own, with whom, as was said, the King advised what the secretary proposed ; and if, on the other hand, by an unpaid disorderly and mutinous army, an oppressed people, discontented nobility, for the most part a divided Parliament and Council, an unacceptable composition of Session to the most part of the nation, whether abusively or upon good grounds, I leave it there ; a church divided into two more irreconciliable factions, tho both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva, so much is that which the first Reformers did scarcely mention in their writings preferred by the religious zealots of our days to the being and well being of the whole Protestant church, that rather than yield the least in those indifferent matters they would give occasion to the ennemis of the truth to overturn what God had wrought already beyond their expectations for the maintenance thereof, as well as of their laws and liberties, yea of the liberty of all Europe, which mainly dependeth upon the maintenance of this present government in Britain ; the Episcopal government being voted out, and their ministers (expecting little brotherly dealing from the resentment of the Presbyterians, whom they had so violently persecuted during the former reigns,) preached King James more than

Christ as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text ; which is not to be understood of all, there being many ministers in the northern countries well principled and affected to your Majestys government, as the means whereof it had pleased God to make use for the defence of his truth against the designs of France ; and the Presbyterians, impatient to see their government established by law, began to be very jealous of the court by the frequent adjournments of Parliament.

All those considerations made the General look upon Scotmen of those times in general as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self denedyed the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of.

And to the end timely measures should be taken, wrote to the Earle of Portland, wherein the failings of the past campaigne confiscted, and the reason wherefor the troubles of that kingdom might not have been ended that very year, and then gave him a detail of the methods how to amend those failings in time to come. Upon which subiect he wrote severall letters to the said Earle, after he had discovered that his stile was not gratefull to the designs of Melvil, who never almost answered any of his letters, and if he happened to write never touched the particulars contained therein, but said overly he had reprented them to the King ; whereof the General, beginning to be jealous, applied himself to Portland, whom he was sure and found had no other design in Scotland but the Kings service, tho happily he might be mistaken by crediting more such as had their own designs, at which they levelled in all their proposals for the government, more than those who fought nothing but a speedy end of their disorders. But whether by the multitude of other affairs, or being otherways perfluaded by Melvil and Tarbat, he could not know, but so it is that he got as little return from Portland as from Melvil.

Meantime he was vexed at the heart to see that the King, upon the account of the difference about the Lords of Session, especially the President Stairs, at whom the chief clubbers seemed to level most, should venture a rupture with the Parliament which so lately had testified so much zeal for his service and interest, particularly upon the subject of prerogative, it being unseasonable to dispute that point before the government was well settled upon its basis; and therefor judged that the good opinion of the people was of so much more import to his Majesty in the infancy of his reign than the prerogative in question, which certainly signified nothing to a prince, who had no design differing from the interest and happiness of his subjects, which consisteth much in the due and impartial administration of justice; being of opinion that disputes of that nature so early broached would create ill grounded jealousies in the heart of the subject, so as from beginnings to form unjust consequences for the rest of that reign, which is more usual than equitable for men to do.

These and the like considerations made him write freely to the Earle of Melvil upon the subject, particularly in answer to one of the said Earles, wherein he lamented as if all lay at stake again. To which the General replied, among other particulars, that his opinion was always that the King should part with what was pretended by the country party, as it was termed, rather than venture a division with his people in a time when his ennemys could not fail of profiting notably thereby to the making of a considerable diversion of his Majestys forces and money, which might be employed more usefully to further his greater designs elsewhere; alledging to his Lordship the council of Solomon's old councellors to his son in the beginning of his reign, viz. to be the servant of his people for that day only, and that they would be his servants for ever thereafter; and that therefor the Kings service was not to put the preservation of particular persons, how great and deserved esteem ever he might have for them, in the ballance with the peace of the kingdom, to which the jealousies raised betwixt the King and his Parliament, whereof the matter of the Session was pretended the subject, seemed to be the only obstacle. For 'tis as

clear as the sun, that after Dundee's death, when the Highlanders and others who had joined and favoured saw that they could make nothing of their advantage, which they could not so readily expect in future encounters when the forces should be brought under better discipline ; I say, seeing how little they could make of it, there is no question but they had given it over from that time forth, if the devotions of the government had not encouraged its enemies without and within the kingdom to set new designs on foot ; whereof the General wrote very plainly to the Earle of Portland, finding how little notice was taken of what he proposed before ; giving him to understand that his continuation in the command of the forces in Scotland could not but prove prejudicial to the Kings service, because his secretary and others of his faction were his enemies, and having more credit than he with the King would labour to be revenged of him, to make the service fail in his hands ; and therefor if the King did not judge him capable to give his Majesty solid information of matters, and propose right methods to establish his authority in that kingdom, it were the interest of his service as well as the Generals desire to be removed out of that command, being unwilling to hazard his reputation, tho obscure in the world, where he had so little prospect of advancing the service, so long as those who could be most helpfull to him proved his greatest obstacles. With such expressions were writ two letters to the Earle of Portland much about the time the King sent him to Holland, which, by reason of his absence, Melvil carried to the King, who happily not being so well informed of the subject of the Generals displeasure before, wrote to him in answer to those two letters to Portland, desiring to know what methods he would propose for the timely subduing of the Highlanders ; his Majesty being also of opinion that the sooner the General should endeavour it the better, that he might make use of some of those forces for the expedition of Ireland.

Whereupon he prepared and sent to the King proposals for the way to bridle so the Highland rebels before the beginning of May, that his Majesty might leave Scotland in great security at his passage into Ireland with no

confiderable expenes. He defird three frigats of 30 piece of cannon each or thereabout, with money or order to the government to furnish 10 or 12 ships of burden, with some three or 4 dozen big boats, 3000 firelocks, the forces being ill armed, and picks not usefull in thoſe Highland wars, 400 *chevaux de frise*, with money to furnish two months provisions for betwixt 3 and 4000 foot, and 2000 spades, shovels and pickaxes, with which he proposed to march toward the latter end of March through the county of Argyle to a place called Dunitaffnage, the duelling place of the antient Kings of the Scots, before they had chaffed the Picts out of Scotland, ſituated in the opening of the bay, which goes up to Innerlochy, where he deſigned to build a fort for a garrison of 10 or 1200 men, capable to bridle thoſe rebels, and oppofite to the Isle of Mull: at which place, where there is a very ſecure haven, he was to appoint the men of war, with the ſhips of burden and boats with the provisions, materials for working the ground, pallisades, *chevaux de frise*, with the further neceſſaries to attend him where he was to embark his foot upon the ſhips and boats, and ſo under favour of his cannon from the men of war, and with the help of 400 *chevaux de frise* he queſtioneſt not to force his landing at the very place, where he deſigned the fort according to the deſcription he had of it from Ingeneers who had been there, tho the ennemy ſhould oppoſe it with all the force they could make.

This method he proposed upon the following reaſons: 1ſt, That Scotland might be ſo quieted and the combined Highlanders bridled, that the King might have no apprehenſion from that hand when he ſhould paſs thefea into Ireland; it being naturally underſtood that if ever his ennemys ſhould labour to overturn the government, it would be during his Majeftys abſence, to which the early ſubduing of the Highlanders would be a great obſtacle, for tho the General did not imagine that they would preſently ſubmitt upon the placing of a garrison at Innerlochy, he was nevertheless ſure that it would keep them ſo at home; if otherwife they would not ſo expoſe their wives, children, cattle and houſes to the mercy of the garrison, that they ſhould not trouble the government much, as we have experimented ſince

the placing thereof. And, 2ly, That he could not possibly march into their country by land before the month of June, by reaſon of the bad ways, and no ſubſtience for horſe in the field: before which time he conſidered beſides that the King's abſence would raife the courage of his ennemys to undertake with the more hope of ſucceſs ſomething againſt his government in both kingdoms, where there was no diſpoſition to leave many forces; that the Highlanders, joyning ſuſh a party of horſe as was ſecretly deſigned for them over all the kingdom, would come out fo formidaſle, and ſepa‐rate his quarters, (which, for the defence of the plain country from ſouth to north, was neceſſarily far diſtant from each other,) that in no place of the kingdom he ſhould be capable to make head to their forces, which, by the general averſion men began to have for the government, would quickly encreaſe as a ſnowball. With all which reaſons, and feveral others, the General accompanied and fortified his propositiōns to his Ma‐jeſty, beggiſg a ſpeedy reſolution thereof, and preſent order to the council for the timely preparations of the neceſſary proviſions of ſubſtience and materials, according as the General ſhould propoſe. But by mu‐ti‐tude of his Ma‐jeſty's other affairs, or happily not judging those of Scotland of ſo great importance, with the inſinuations of others, who gave him other no‐tions of them, the General received no return to his propositiōns and frequent letters; which made him ſo chagrin and impatient, that he declared he would not continue a minute in that command, ſeeing plainly nothing to be expe‐cted but the loſs of his reputation with the ſervice thereby, wherewith, as to the judgement of the vulgar, he was intruſted, and would ly under the blame of its miſcarriages, tho' in effect, it was never feen that a man hath been employed in a ſervice of that importance fo little truſted by his maſter, as he diſcovered himſelf to be by the King; which could not but be very ſenſible to him, conſidering that his Ma‐jeſty thereby muſt either queſtion his fidelity or his judgement and capacity. Nevertheless, he overcame all at laſt with paſtience, in the firm expe‐ctation that God, (without whose providence he had not been pitched upon for that ſervice, when he was fo very unſit for any‐by his great fickneſs, as

was touched above, who overruleth the destiny of the least of his creatures, much more that of kingdoms, and in whose presence he served that Protestant interest in uprightness and self-denied sincerity) would bless his endeavours, and overcome, by his providence, those difficulties which he foresaw to his great discouragement, had he not been supported by that hope.

In the month of January, 1690, the King sent down an order for breaking three regiments of foot, viz. those of the Earle of Mar, with the Lords Blantyre and Bargany, and twelve troops of horse and dragoons, notwithstanding the General had represented the necessity of a considerable body of horse and dragoons, without which it was impossible to secure the authority of the government in the north, by reason of the great extent of our quarters, and the slow motion of foot to move to the assistance of their threatened neighbours' quarters; whereas, the horse and dragoons (if the commanding officers of the quarters had good intelligence and correspondence with the garrisons which lay in houses above them, toward the border of the Highlands) being timely advertised, might assist in body either of the quarters, so as to hinder the ennemy from rendering himself master of it, tho' not to rob some of the inhabitants which lay neareft the hills, by surprize and stealth; there being no convenience to lodge sufficient numbers, and in fit places, to cover the country, and no appointment for their subsistence, either in provisions, fire, covering, or any other necessaries, tho' there had been more places to have lodged men securely from insult and surprize of the ennemy; in so far, that the garrisons and quarters we had, had been abandoned and deserted of the soldiery, and the ennemy become masters of them, and happily of the better part of the kingdom during that winter, while such as had credit with and access to the King, minded only to maintain their own court against such as could render him every way better service; if the General, by positive orders, had not enjoyned the officers commanding the several quarters and garrisons, to take subsistence for the men, and forage for their horses, where it was to be found, provided it were taken orderly by measure and weight,

and receipts given to the owners, to be shortened of their arrears when they happened to be paid, tho' such orders were directly contrary to the standing laws : judging that of two evils the leaſt is to be chosen, and that no well conſtitute Parliament would accufe an officer who broke not their laws but for their own ſafety, and ſecurity of their ſervice.

In the commiſſion for modelling the army according to the plan ſent down from Court, the Earle of Leven, tho' but a Colonel and a youth without ſervice, was not only joint with the General, but placed firſt in the commiſſion ; which, tho' it was a maniſt neglect and a token of his Maſteſty's miſtrust of him, he nevertheless diſembled his diſpleaſure, left by any ſuch diſputes the hands of the ennemys might be ſtrengthened, and the ſervice hindered ; and therefor adviſed the faid Earle and old Major General Monro, whose name was alſo put in the Commission, not to proceſs to the faid modelling till the inconveniences thereoſt in the unpaid flate of the army, with the danger of breaking the horſe and dragoons, were firſt repreſented by a letter, ſigned by all three, to the King ; and becauſe the Earle of Portland ſignified the King's pleaſure to be, that the trooper's horſes belonging to his Maſteſty ſhould be kept in the country, for which the King would allow tenpence the horſe dayly, he propoſed that the King, making the allowance but twopence more a horſe, might keep thoſe troops as they were in ſervice, for the ſecurity of the kingdom, till the Parliament ſhould meet. The neceſſity of which meeting he had taken the liberty to repreſent to the King himſelf, in theſe terms : that, whatever men might perſuade his Maſteſty to the contrary, he could affiure him, that there was but one of two ways to maintain his Maſteſty's autho‐rity in that kingdom, either by the way of Parliament, or that of a well paid army, capable to ſubdue and keep it in awe in ſpite of all the con‐tingent factions ; and that whoſoever repreſented otherwife to his Maſteſty might fee to it ; as for him, he diſcharged his own conſcience in the ſincere adverтиſement which he had given of matters from time to time. Upon the letter adverтиſing the King of the inconveniencie which might occur to his ſervice by the caſhiering of the horſe and dragoons, it was

left to them to licentiate or keep them, if the treasury could furnish where-withall ; but the three foot regiments were broke, whereby the service lost nothing, because a regiment for Colonel Cunningham was formed of them, and a company added to every one of the other six ; and the treasury granted for subsistence only to a troop of horse about 70 lib., one of dragoons odds of 50 lib., and a company of foot 20 lib. sterling, which served only to satify a little of the sooldiery, but not to make them subsit, nor that with so little pay they could live without troubling the inhabitants.

The General finding the season advancing apace, and no regard had, so far as he could judge, of his propositions, moved in council to write a letter to the King, concerning the three frigates, which he desired, and that the Council should recommend to the Lord Secretary to pres the dispatch of them, as also of the other particulars above mentioned ; which had so much effect, that the King ordered the fending of the frigates, as likewise, 500 firelocks, 200 *chevaux de frise*, with some ammunition, and 1500 spades, shovels, and pickaxes ; and finding that the provisions and other necessaries, could not be had timely enough for the execution of his design of Innerlochy in the fore-mentioned method, and the King fending no money down for the requisite preparations thereto ; and considering, that whatsoever was propos'd in council, they should depute a quorum of their number, to whom he might give the opening of the way he desighned to proceed for the reduc^tion of the Highlands. Which being ordered, he told them, that if their country were not speedily settled in peace it should not be found his fault. And so, having made a full relation of all his propositions to the King, about two months before, assured them that he would not spare his person, pains, and all the endeavours he should be found capable of, to bring their troubles to a speedy end ; whereto he prayed them to contribute their part as having more interest therein than he, who fought none in Scotland but the public ; adding, that the time being past for the enterprize of Innerlochy by water, he was, upon good grounds, afraid that the ennemy would be so foon abroad, and find such

a ready disposition in the most part of the kingdom, particularly the northern parts thereof, to joyn with them, as might endanger the government, considering the distance and extent of quarters; because, that if the rebels, as he was sure they would, prevent us in the fields, they would separate our quarters, so that we could get no considerable body of our forces any where together to oppose them. To prevent such dangers, since they must needs (said he,) leave the forces so lodged as they then were, till they could be in readines to put to the field, except they resolved to make the ennemy master of a great part of the kingdom, he proposed for the next best remedy, to make a detachment of 600 chosen men to embark upon three or four ships of burden, with provisions for three months, to be sent upon the ennemy's coast, most of them being Islanders, or dwelling upon the north-west coasts of the kingdom; and with them to fend the spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with the pallisades, all to be ready against the arrival of the frigates, whereof, by a letter from the Lord Secretary, the Council was assured with the first fair wind. By which method he proposed to give the combined Highlanders such a diversion and jealousy upon their coasts, that they should not much trouble the low country, nor be able to come out formidable enough to give us much trouble till he could be ready to put to the field. For which, said he, there would be necessary a considerable quantity of meal, as well for the forces during their being in Lochaber, as to leave the garrison of the fort which was to be built provided for some months; as also planks and other wood, for houses or lodges for the garrison, with ships to carry all thither; for all which 5 or 600 lib. sterl. would go a great length. And the news being come of one of the frigates being cast away, he proposed to the Committee to hire a little frigate of about 20 guns, newly built at Glasgow. To all those particulars was opposed the impossibility of getting the money, one of the Lords of the Treasury there present affuring them, that all they could engage for might be the provisions of the 600 men which were proposed for a diversion; so that it was resolved the Committee should write to the King, giving his Majesty an account of the

General's propositions, which they judged might be very effectual ; as also of the emptiness of their coffers, praying his Majesty to order 4 or 5000 lib. to begin the preparations, because they were not well able to dispatch the first detachment of 600 men ; which, if the General had not got the Provost and town of Glasgow engaged to undertake the furnishing of the said 600 men, it had not been done by a month so soon as it was, whereby the whole designed advantage of it had been lost.

The General had, toward the beginning of January, commanded Sir Thomas Livingston, (who lay at Aberdeen since the month of August that he had called him to his assistance) with his regiment to the north, because he knew more of the country and the nature of the people, with their inclinations, than any other he had to fend ; besides, that his regiment was in reputation by the ennemy ; to whom he gave very special instructions, according to the idea which he formed of the ennemy's designs, as well as the dispositions they were like to meet with in the neighbouring countries, in case they drew to the field to prevent our forces. Which instructions the General renewed or altered according as the face of things changed from time to time, and as he received intelligence from Sir Thomas, as well as out of Lochaber, from among the ennemy, whence he had his weekly accounts, or oftner.

In the beginning of March the Danish horse, according to the King's resolution to have them transported from the west of Scotland to Ireland, because of the shortness of the passage, began to approach Edinburgh, which obliged the General to make a turn thither, to see the first regiment of them embarked and sent away ; because these people being behind in their pay, and having no other motive to the service than their own private interest, as all auxiliary forces are ordinarily disposed, grumbled ; therefor, he was willing to see the first of them pleasantly dispatched, to which he thought his presence might contribute to serve for an example for the following two, who would not venture readily to shew less zeal for the service than the first, an example being often of use in those cases. At the same time, he engaged the city of

Glasgow to hire ships, and make the necessary provisions for the speedy dispatch of the 600 men, which he designed for the ennemy's coast, to make diversion, under the command of Major Fergusson, a resolute well-affected officer, to whose discretion and diligence he trusted much. He engaged the magistrates of the said city also to furnish and send away with the detachment, 5000 pallisades, with 500 spades, shovels, and pick-axes, to make up 2000 in all with the 1500 sent down from England, which he had ordered to Glasgow, to be sent away with the party ; knowing, that if those things were left to the care of the government (whose it ought to have been, the General having neither money or credit to furnish them) he had certainly been disappointed at the time they should be made use of, as he had been, the first year of this war, of all things necessary to further the service, whereby, tho' he had learned the way, yet did the means fail him to provide against the like disappointments for his ensuing campaign, the Court never answering the least word upon his reiterate representations, tho' he painted forth the inconveniences which the neglect of the Scots affairs might probably bring upon the government, particularly during his Majesty's intended absence in Ireland in very free terms, being willing that this free and hard language might have one of two effects, either that the service might be the better provided for, or himself removed out of that command ; tho' he desired the former rather, because that he was sensible that another of much more capacity and knowledge of the war could not comprehend that sort of service, nor execute the designs which he had formed and judged to be the only way to disembaras the government of that barbarous ennemy as he himself ; which besides that he had already been a twelvemonth engaged against them, being an Highlander himself by birth, and of one of the reputed families for a number of good resolute men among them, and which formerly had special correspondence and good understanding with all the Highlanders at this time in rebellion : he had better ways to know their numbers, interests, and inclinations, and so more able to take sure measures than others. For in the war we must be informed of the circum-

stances of our ennemis, otherwife we shall never enterprize any thing but in incertitude, (I speake as to humane appearances) and, consequently with apprehension and fear of the issue, which makes men lyable to change measures upon such reports as often the ennemy are authors of, to render our undertakings by such precautions as our ignorance of the ennemy's state doth necessarily occasion, slow and uncertain, whereby time and opportunity is lost. But tho' the General had but little or no allowance for contingencies, he was so well instructed of the ennemy's circumstances, that he was humanly sure of his desighn, if such as had all the truft of that kingdom had not designedly oppofed him, which, tho' he was put to great difficulties and fome incertitude, yet pleased it God's Providence to crown his upright desighn and pains against the ennemis of His truth, in fpite of his ennemis, who laboured to make it fail in his hand, their malice blinding their judgement, fo that they could not discover that his disappointment could not but bring prejudice to their Majesties fervice, to which the General believed they wished well on the main, tho' they would have it done by other hands and ways than his. And fince we are upon the subje^ct of those differences, let us fay a word of the occasion of them as the General had often and publickly enough declared.

The firſt occaſion of the miſunderſtanding betwixt the Lord Secretary and him feemed to have been upon the ſubje^ct of Tarbat, as was touched above, who being coufin-german to Melvill, he was highly concerned for him, beſides that being but a weak, timorous ſort of man himſelf as to government, wherein he had never been exerciſed before, tho' very cuſting in driving on his own private deſigns, and called to ſuſh an eminent poſt as to be ſecretary of a kingdom to which the King was fo neceſſarily a ſtranger, he had need of the aduice of ſuſh an able ſtateſman as happily any is in Europe; fo far as he hath been employed, in propoſing and reſolving matters with the King, and putting him upon true methods for the government of that kingdom; 2dly, as he had got moft of all places of truft as to the civil government to depend upon him, being in the hands of his children, relations, or creatures, he deſigned likewiſe to have the

chief command of the army to his son Levin, tho but an unexperienced young man, as void of direction, as uncapable to follow that of others; whereto they judged that to make the service fail in the General's hands, or to have the kingdom secured by other ways than that which he proposed would be the likeliest way to attain: besides, that Melvil now being chosen the King's commissioner for the ensuing session of Parliament, in whose hands he was to leave the whole trust of Scotland, was desirous the settlement of the nation should be effectuated so as he shoud have the honour of it, as one of the good effects of his government, which might tend to the better establishment of his favour and credit by the King, wherein his politicks certainly were limited, having nothing of a publick spirit. Tarbat laying hold upon those inclinations of the Secretary, as the General upon good ground suspected,

Here ended these Memoires.

What follows was found among the rest of the Lieutenant-Generals papers, being the notes he had written in Scotland, and of which he wrote the foregoing Memoirs.

Tarbat having easily discovered the passion of Melvill to have the chief command of the forces in Scotland in his son, Levin's hands, did not fail to entertain him in the notion of it upon severall accounts. 1st, Being the General's ennemy, he was glad to find occasion to do him prejudice, and therefor perswaded Melvill, as the said General suspected, upon apparent grounds, that, to make way for his sons advancement, the settlement of the Highlands must be accomplished another way than the General proposed; which at the same time would add a merit to his ministry in Scotland, whereby his credit would be raised and well established by the King, who, conceiving well the prejudice and hindrance his more important affairs might receive from the disorders of that kingdom, condescended willingly that the Highland rebels should be bought off with considerable

distribution of money, according to their different circumstances, among them ; for which treaty Melvill had full power from the King. But the question was, who should be intrusted with the negotiation thereof. At first the Earle of Breadalbin came in consideration, but he would have 5000 lib. for himself, which Melvill, who loved to profit of those occasions as much as any else, thought too much ; wherefor he obtained an order from the King to one Hill, who had commanded in Cromwell's time in the Highlands, to repair to Edinburgh, and there to follow such directions as he shoule receive from his commisioner, meaning Melvill, who, about this time, came from the King to Scotland to represent his Majesty in the ensuing session of Parliament ; to the end that Hill, being acquaint with all the Highlanders engaged in the Rebellion, and esteemed of them, might be employed to treat with them, touching their laying down of arms upon the receipt of such sums of moneys he and they shoule contract for. Which designs were a carrying on without the least communication with, or advice of the General, by Melvill, pushed earnestly upon the account foreaid of his own as well as families establishment in all places of trust, either civil or military, for the compassing whereof all obstacles be removed, by representing some disaffected and dangerous, and others incapable.

Tarbat, besides his hatred to the General, had two views in the matter : the one, that if King James's party happened to prevail, he could, by undeniable testimonies, prove that he was the author of the counsel, which hindred all endeavours for the reduction of the Highlands under their Majesty's government, and if the Highlanders happened to be satisfied with the offers, he made his court with the King and his first minister of state, and only trustee for the affairs of that Kingdom.

Argyle's claims upon most of those Highland chiefs estates seemed to be the great obstacle in the matter, as indeed it had been the occasion of their taking arms as well as their opiniatrity in their rebellion, considering that the said Earle had countenanced his Majesty's enterprize by accompanying him out of Holland, being besides a person of considerable

command of men, and was not to be disobliged, without which they imagined they could not have been secured ; tho we have reason to believe, that less money than was proposed to be distributed among the Highland chiefs might have bought off the said Earle's pretensions, which of the two had been the likeliest way to prove effectual.

The General, having given order for the provisions for the detachments with the frigates, and shipped for Ireland Colonel Joel's regiment of Danish horse, came to Edinburgh, where he found the Earle of Melvill newly come down commissioneer to the Parliament, to whom, tho' he had been advertised of his designs against him, he gave account of the state of affairs as to the war, of his designs and the lenth he had dispos'd things for the execution of them, proposing in council, that a Commissary General of the provisions should be named to make stores in time, and without delay, that the service for want of them shoud not be disappointed, as it had more than once fallen out the year before : whereby he was taught the necessary precaution for the present, if he had wherewithall to supply them.

The council out of deference for the Commisioner leaving to him to name a fit man for that important employe, the General made dayly applications here ; but, notwithstanding he urged many undenyable arguments for a speedy resolution, as that the ennemis of the Government would be encouraged by the King's absence and the small number of forces to be left in the Isle of Brittain to trouble his Government, if timely measures were not taken to secure the Highlands by a great garrison at Innerlochy ; that there must be acted by land in concert with the detachment by sea to astonish the ennemis the more ; that the proper season for such an enterprize, which doth not last long in the Highlands, where the rains, rendring the ways as well as the works impracticable, begin early among those mountains, must be managed and not let pass without doing any thing ; notwithstanding, I say, those and the like reasons, and the General's letters to the Earle of Portland complaining of the Commisioners methods, with assurance there were no effectual measures to force those people to obedience, but by garrisons, he kept the matter in sus-

pence five or six weeks, and at last instead of a well affected, generous, capable person, and a man of credit, who toward the latter end of the former campaign had acted as Commissary of the provisions, he placed a man there, who knew nothing of it, and depended absolutely on his own orders.

Nevertheless the General, who had no design in Scotland but to contribute to its peace and then to quit it, winked at those designs, the more because he discovered his letters to Court met with very little credit, the King as well as Portland being preoccupied by the false notion, which Melvill and Tarbat had given them of the matters of the Highlands, withal being perswaded that labouring for a power independent of Melvill, to whom the King left the entire trust of the kingdom, he would loose his pains, the seafon, and consequently the service; wherefor he gave orders for the necessary provisions of bread, materials for the garrison, and transport ships to come all about before the forces would march further, and put 4000 lib: which the King had sent him to help forward the expedition in the hands of the said Commissary, Melvill's creature, to avoid suspicion of his putting of any part of it to his own use.

At this time, much about the middle of April 1690, the club joyn'd in Parliament with the Jacobites, thinking by that means to overvote that which was called the Court party, and severals of them effayed to debauch Major Ferguson, after it had been publick the General had appointed him to command the detachment of land forces along with the frigates; to whom the said Major, who is a vigorous and well affected man, discovered all their propofals, not silencing a letter from a very near relation of his own to the same purpose; whereby the General gave prefent notice to the Commissioner and thereafter to the King.

Mean time Ferguson being kept up, the matter of five weeks, waiting for his provisions, the General communicated to several persons the design of that detachment, giving the party out for more in number than it was, that the ennemy might be advertized of it, whereby they shou'd be hindred from giving any considerable numbers of men to Buchan and Canon, who

preft them fore to take the field ; which took the projected effect, for instead of 4 or 5000 they might have made up among them, I mean such as were of Lochaber with their neighbours and the adjacent illanders who had combined from the beginning, they had made only a levy of 7 or 800 men, and fent them out with the faid Buchan, whom King James had fent the same winter to command for him in Scotland, who together with Canon took the field with the faid number much about the 20th of April ; while the gros of the rebels, particularly such as dwelt near the sea with the inhabitants of the illes staid at home to guard their country against the frigates, with Fergufon's detachment, at the very noise whereof they were very much terrified.

The General being informed of Buchan's taking the field, ordered Livingston, who commanded three regiments of foot, his own of dragoons, and fome troops of horse at and about Innerneſs, to obſerve them, and labour, by a detachment of the beſt of his men, to get a catch of them, or at leaſt to hinder the growth of their number ; but having got notice of them, and made two feveral marches towards the place where he was adverſified they were, he found great difficulty to get his horse and dragoons ſublifted in forrage, as well as his foot in viſtuals, and ſo was forced, by the ennemy's retreat to the hills, to retire alſo to Innerneſs. At laſt, being informed that many even of ſuch as were hitherto in our party, at leaſt by outward appearance, would joyn them if they were not oppoſed ſpeedily, he detached an exprefſ to the General, to adverteſe him of their progresſ, and the diſpoſition of the greateſt part of the northern countries to joyn them ; and with his own regiment, about 300 men, 400 of Leſlie's, a company of 100 briſk Highlanders of Lord Rae's men, which the General had taken into the ſervice a twelvmonth before, fix companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men, and two troops of horſe, in all about 1200 choiſe men, he marched eight miles from Innerneſs, upon the way toward the place where he had adverteſement the ennemy lay, to wait further intelligence, and to joyn the faid detachment from their particular quarters.

Upon Livingston's express the General ordered 3000 men, which lay at Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow and other places, to draw together to St. Johnstoun at the entry of the country of Athole, both to be ready to move with them, if the north countries should begin to get to arms upon that small appearance of Buchan and Canon, and to keep the more southern Highlands at home, for fear that body should fall into their country and destroy them, being resolved, without necessity, not to stir from that post till things were in readiness to march into Lochaber, and the ships with the provisions and the materials, were sent about, least the forces, there being no provisions ready yet, should be spoyled for the main design ; and ordered Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, brother to him that commanded the ennemy's party for King James, with a battalion of Colonel Ramfay's regiment, the regiment of Angus, and five troops of horse and dragoons which lay at Aberdeen and in the county of that name, to march upon Livingston's orders, who, by his instructions, was ordered to call the forces out of the next quarters to his assistance upon occasion.

Livingston, mean time, being camped within eight miles of Strathspey, belonging to the Laird of Grant, who was in the King's interest, and Colonel and Privy Counsellor in his service, got advertisement from a Captain of the said Grant's regiment, who had his company in a castle near where the ennemy lay, that they were come down out of Badenoch to the foreaid country of Strathspey, marched out of his quarter in the afternoon, and continued his march till within two miles of the castle from whence he had the intelligence ; where, finding his men weary, a difficult pass betwixt him and the castle, and it being already very dark and well advanced in the night, he would gladly have camped ; but not finding a convenient place, and by the persuasion of an officer which undertook to guide him through the pass, he pushed forward, not knowing as then the very place where the ennemy lay, but that the night before they were in that country, according to the intelligence he had had from the fore-mentioned Captain ; whereby we may clearly discover the overruling providence of God in the directions of things here below. For if Livingston

had known the Highlanders had been camped within a mile and a half on the other side of that pass, not being very confident of the people of that country, tho' seemingly of our interest, he had never ventured to pass it in the night; nor had the enemies, if they had suspected in the least such a march, come from the place whence he had the last news of them, where he could have done them no harm, to camp upon a plain a great mile and a half from any strong ground, just as if they had been led thither by the hand, as an ox to the slaughter.

The Captain who kept the castle having been advertised of Livingston's so near approach, locked the gates of the said castle, permitting none of all the gentlemen of the country which came into him to avoid the enemy, to go out again, least Buchan should be advertised of our forces approach. Livingston being arrived the length of the castle about two of the clock in the morning upon the first day of May, was by the said Captain advertised of the enemy's post which he shewed him by the fires, offering to be his guide thither himself. Who having called the officers of his party together, sent them each to his detachment to propose the attack of the enemy to them, in case they found themselves capable enough to undergo that little fatigue more, for he knew them to be very weary; to which they answered, they were very ready to undergo that and more to be at them, and that none of them should forsake him. Having then given them an half hour to refresh both men and horse, he marched down by a covered way to the river, where there was a foord guarded by 100 men of the enemy, whither he made a detachment of foot with some few dragoons to amuse them, and marched his troops to another foord below that a quarter of a mile, according as Captain Grant guided him, and having past his Highland company before him, he followed with 3 troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse; and by that time he was out of the river, seeing the enemy take the alarm as moving confusedly as irresolute men, he sent orders to the rest of his regiment, which was after his foot, with the other troop of horse, to joyn; and pushing betwixt the Highlanders and the hills with what he had, past at

the gallop, wherein the Highland company outrun his horse and got the hill of them, who, seeing him so weak, resolved to stand; but upon the flight of the rest of his party, which was following with all the speed they could make, they began to run for it; and Livingston with his major, a brisk young gentleman, mixt with them, killing and making prisoners about 400; and few would have escaped them, had not a sudden fogg favoured the ennemy's flight, and obliged him to cause beat a retreat. He lost 7 or 8 horses, but no men in that surprize: the news whereof did very much good to the King's affairs both in Scotland and England, by abating the confidence of their Majesties ennemis in both Parliaments. So little a matter falling out seasonably can give a turn to affairs of the highest importance, whereby at the same time we can see what influence the state of affairs in Scotland hath upon those of England: For this little advantage helped not a little to dispose things favourably for their Majesty's service at Westminster as well as at Edinburgh, which we may clearly see by what hath been said above, as well as by the favourable effects following upon it, to be the direction of God's providence, which, tho' it interpose in all the actions of the creatures, is as to our conceptions nevertheleſs more visible in ſome things than others. For to this concurred that Livingston had no intelligence of the ennemy's being ſo very near the paſs; that when he was taken by the night, he could get no place to camp in; that an officer engaged to lead him by a pretty good way through the paſs, where being engaged and finding it ſo ill, was offended with his too officious guide; that the captain of the caſtle, who had never ſerved but ſome months, fell upon ſuch a diſcreet method to keep the march of Livingston undiſcovered, and that Buchan, ſo far contrar to the uſual method of the Highlanders, came the fame night out of a ſecure ground, where Livingston could not get any advantage of him, to a place where he lay ſo expoſed and within diſtance of his ennemy, notwithstanding that he knew there were odds of 2400 horse, foot and dragoons within a days march of him: which by the way ſhows that none can readily carry on a deſign in any ground without it be well known to

them, no more than they can well secure themselves from the designs of their ennemy's ; and that without intelligence it is a rare matter to advance any thing in our trade ; for tho' Sir Thomas Livingston did all what could be expected of a diligent carefull officer, the captain of the castle, altogether a novice, seemed to have had the greatest share in this favourable success : as is reported of a general, who of late had engaged himself in a ground with a great army, where he had perished, knowing no way to disengage himself, if a poor country woman had not discovered a passage to him, for the two ways known to him were possessed by the ennemy and well guarded, and if they had not been ignorant of the third as well as he, he had starved with his army, and been ruined without fighting.

The Heads of the Progress of the War against the Rebels in the Year
1690, in Scotland.

Six hundred men were ordered about to the rebels coasts under Major Fergulon, but did not fail from Greenock till the 15th of May ; nevertheless, the very expectation of them hindred the rebels from coming in any considerable number out of their country with Buchan and Canon.

The 1st of May Sir Thomas Livingston being informed, that Buchan and Canon were come out of Lochhaber to the neighbourhood of Innerness, went out with his dragoons and some horse and foot, to the number of 1200, and surprized much about the same number of the rebels in Strathspey, killing, and making prisoners about 400, and scattering the rest, which hindred all further undertaking of theirs, till the forces marched into Lochaber.

A fortnight before that surprize, I ordered a body of some horse and foot to Perth to be ready to march to the ennemy, in case he should seem to ingross his number ; with much wrestling and dispute with the Commissioner, who laboured all he could to hinder the expedition of Lochaber

I obtained the King's liberty, by an expres I fent to meet him at Chester, to march into Lochaber, and fent orders to Fergufon to meet me with his detachment at Innerlochy, together with the ships of provisions which were fent about to him.

The 18th of June, notwithstanding the Commisioner gave me a general account of dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, judging it would be the readiest way to secure us from the Highlanders, which I confidered as the moft dangerous ennemy we could expe&t, I marched from S^t. Johnftoun with about 3000 horse and foot ; and having made a motion towards the fhortest way to Badenoch, to alarm the ennemy, as if I intended that way, I turned to the right, because the other way would lead me within a fhort day's march of the ennemy, with whom in that country, full of defiles and difficult pafses, I had not a mind to venture in action, till I had joyned the forces from the north under Livingston ; it being a maxim in our trade, without neceſſity to put nothing to an apparent hazard, when the fucceſſ is of great importance.

The 26th of June, having joined Livingston in Strathſpey, I marched up to Badenoch ; after a day's reſt to the forces, to the place of junction.

The firſt of July, having made a feint by four troops of horse and dragoons towards a ftrait pafs where the ennemy expe&ted me, as judging I could enter their country no other way, after due information I changed suddenly my march to the left, having before ordered the officer commanding the foreſaid four troops, to refire after ſuſh an halt as he could judge sufficient for the country men which were ill affected to fend intelligence to the ennemy of my approach that way towards them, to retire and joyn my rear guard ; and through mountains and boggy ways entered Lochaber by Glenſpean, wher no body expe&ted me that night.

And on the 3d, arrived at Innerlochy, where the ſituation of the old fort did not pleafe me, being commanded from a near hill, but could not change it, there being none elfe ſo fit.

The 5th I began to work at the Fort, and in 11 days got it at its full height, the matter of 20 foot from the bottom of the fosſee, pallifaded

round, with a *chemin couvert* and glacis, a perfect defence against all attempts of such an enemy.

About the 17th ditto, when I had given order for the march of a party, to the Isle of Mull, and shipped their provisions, letters came from the council giving an account of the disaster of the fleets, and of the apprehension of a landing in England and Scotland, and desiring me to repair with all speed south with the forces; upon which I countermanded the party for Mull, willing to march as formidable as I could forth, not knowing what occasion the Queen might have of succours in England.

I marched the 18th away, leaving 1000 men in garrison in the new built fort, with 2000 bolls of meal, 30 hogsheads of aquavitæ, 500 pound sterlinc in money, and 60 fat cows, and making each soldier carry 8 days provisions of meal, the baggage horses having been taken, lost, and deserted to a very few.

I arrived the 20th by easy marches in Badenoch. The 21st, leaving the army camped to rest a day, I went with a party of 140 horse and dragoons to Ruthen Castle which the rebels had burnt the year before, and having considered an old square wall within which the garrison could camp securely from surprize or insult, I left the Highland company of Lord Rae's men within it, with tents to lodge them till they should have shelters made, and ordered the commander how he should pallisade it about with a breast work. From thence I marched the 22d towards Athole the shorlest way, and arrived at Perth the 26th, where having got notice that Buchan and Canon had got some 200 horse together, I ordered the forces from Stirling to march straight to them, while I waited for some biscuit from Dundee to march with a detachment of the forces to labour to intercept them, but they were gone before those posted at Stirling went out, and past through the heights of Athole to Braemar, so that I could not overtake them, in two days that I marched after them, after I had sent the forces to a quarter of refreshing, except about 1000, with which I followed them.

But the 3d day, seeing I could not overtake them, and not being pro-

vided for a longer march, I returned to Stirling, from whence I dispatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons and one of horse, to fortify the Master of Forbes who had two of horse and two of dragoons for the guard of Aberdeen-shire, judging these eight troops sufficient for any thing which shoud joyn the ennemy upon his appearance in that country, while mean time, I laid the Lochaber army in quarters to be refreshed till I had certain news how matters went in England, for which I wrote several letters to the Earle of Marlborough, whereof, if I had got speedy anfwer, I could have taken more timely measures. About this time, Buchan and Canon having got joined to their horse some 5 or 600 Highlanders under Innerrey, with which reinforcement they left 160 men to block up and starve a garrison of 70 men I had in Abergeldie, deschending with the rest down the country to joyn some gentlemen who favoured their party in the counti-
ties of Aberdeen, Banff and Merns.

Upon their descent into the Low Country, Jackson and the Master of Forbes, opposed them with 8 troops of horse and dragoons, a sufficient force againft any party the rebels had as then; but their approach to one another, made them equally afraid of one another, so that Buchan, to deceive his ennemy, ranged his few foot very much at large, and mixed all his baggage beasts and other horses for which he had no men to mount them in his ranks, which took the designed effect; for our men, aftonished with the imaginary number of the ennemy, retired from them, and afterwards turned their pace to a gallop, for 16 miles till they got Aberdeen; whither the ennemy followed them being reinforced considerably upon that little appearance of advantage by the junction of several noblemen and gentlemen, so that the Magistrates of Aberdeen not being well composed, our men were afraid the ennemy would force them, the toun lying altogether open and without defence.

Upon the alarm of this disorder, I dispatched Colonel Cunningham in all diligence, with his own regiment, 6 companies of Beveridge's, 10 companies of Kenmore's, making but 300 men, and a troop of horse with one of dragoons to labour to get Jackson joined; but the ennemy having got

betwixt them, and finding no appearance of a landing in England, (tho' as yet I got no return from Marlborough,) I dispatched north myself, with Livingston's dragoons and 1400 foot of the three Dutch regiments without the least baggage or provisions for the forces. By this time, the ennemy leaving Aberdeen, marched southward, upon advertisement of my motion, past over the hills to the north, whither I followed them, tho' hindred some days to order and wait for provisions, and ordered the troops under Jackson where to joyn me. Being come to the river of Dee, I left Cunningham with his detachment posted at the Castle of Aboyn to cover the march of Jackson, and marched with my party to Abergeldie, to relieve, strengthen and provide that garrison, and by the way, by a detachment of 60 dragoons, under Major Mackay, defeat Innerey in the hills with 200 good Highlanders, and burnt all the country about the garrison, because they had blockt that house.

The next day I came down again, and having joined all the forces which I had in the north, except what lay at Innerneys, and finding no certain intelligence of the ennemy, I marched a day's march more to the north the lenth of Strathdone, where having got some uncertain notice that the ennemy moved towards the county of Murray, and threatned a little country town called Elgin, leaving the foot behind me for the more dispatch, I made all the haste possible, and that the more because at the same time I found all the north in a design to joyn them, ordering the foot, if I did not call for them in a day or two, to march to Aberdeen to be supplied with provisions, and because the weather was bad. Mean time having got certain intelligence of the ennemy's march to the north, and their expectation of the junction of several thousands, I marched with all the diligence possible, losing no time, but what was absolutely necessary to refresh the horses, and came within four hours march to them before they had notice of me, which made them retire from before Innerneys where they had designed an attack, as soon as the Earle of Seaforth, (who had gathered as his Highlanders together for that purpose,) with others of their party, shoud have joined them.

Upon my unexpected approach, and Buchan's sudden retreat, the Earle of Seaforth was so intimidated, that he sent two gentlemen of his name to offer all the security for his peaceable behaviour I could desire; whom I returned with answer, that I could accept of none but his person prisoner, which after much repugnancy, being threatened with the present destruction of all his own and his friends interest, he condescended to, desiring only the favour that I should send out a party by night to make the fahion of surprising him, to which I condescended, fending out so formidably, as he could do them no harm: But the Earle, upon second thoughts, disappointed the party, excusing himself of the breach of promise, upon pretext he could not suffer restraint. Whereupon resolving to treat his vassals with all the rigour of military execution, I detached one Major Wifheart, a pretty sensible man, who had been a considerale time in the country, with 200 chosen foot, to whom I ordered the junction of 900 Highlanders of the Earle of Sutherland's, the Lord Rae's and the Laird of Balnagown's men, to fall into all the countries under the obedience of the said Earle acceſſible to horſe, to burn their houses and take their goods, which I declared good prize; resolving to march myself with all the horſe and dragoons and three battalions of foot (which I ordered to joyn me from Aberdeen, leaſt the weaknes of my party might embolden Buchan with the Highlanders and Seaforth to return upon me) into his plain country. Notwithstanding which diſpoſitions, being more willing to have him prisoner than to ruine his friends, who were all protestants, and none of the moſt dangerous ennemis, I cauſed convey advertisement to the Earle's camp, as it were by an act of his friendſhip from ſome of my party unknown.

An Account of the Expedition of the Highlanders, and Particulars for
the Year 1690. By MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY.

The King having signified to the said Major-General, (who had follicited hard for permission to go for Holland during the winter seafon,) that his pleasure was that he should stay in Scotland till the things were further settled: knowing the irregularity of that kingdom the precedent year, by which means there was not fuch advantages got of the rebels as otherwife might be expe&ted, applied himself early to his Majefty that fuch measures might be taken, that the only formidable rebels then in the kingdom might be subdued by placing a garrison at Innerlochy; fo foon in the spring, that the moft part of the forces then in Scotland might thereafter be employed elsewhere, as their Majefty's fervice should require: Which deſign he proposed to effectuate with 3000 men only, the government being at the expences to provide them of ſhipping and boats for landing, with the help of three frigates to convoy them, and cut off the communication of the rebels of the Iſles with thoſe of the main land, and to have ſome ſpades, ſhovels and pickaxes furnished from England, for caſting up of ground and building a Fort, with ſome money to make provisions for fix weeks only. Which deſign was certainly very feaſible; but things not anſwering fo readily from England as was expe&ted, by reaſon of the great preparations for the Iriſh expedition, and the Government being unable to ſupply thoſe expences, tho' but incoſiderable in Scotland, things wained on without that the Major-General could have any return of his propoſitions till it was near the month of March; at which time being affured of the frigates, as well as ſpades and ſhovels, and knowing the deſign of enterprizing with a coſiderable party by water was broke, he propoſed to the privy council to choose ſome of their number, who might hear what the faid Major-General had to propoſe touching the way to proceed againſt the ennemy the enſuing campaign.

Which being granted, he gave to that committee an account of what he had wrote to court; and seeing he was disappointed in all likelihood of his first expectation, he proposed that preparations should be made for 600 land forces with ships to transport them along with the frigates, which were expected to the coasts of the rebels, by which means he sustained that not only the Isles should be incapacitate to land any men for the succour of their friends and party in Lochaber; but that whole party, which were the principal rebels, would be obliged to stay at home to guard their own country, and to make such a diversion of the enemy's forces, that they should not be able to fall in betwixt our quarters, which necessarily were extended to a great distance, in any considerable number, till we could be ready as to subsistence for horse and men to put to the field. To the effectuating of which design, the Lords of the Treasury undertook to furnish 600 pound sterling, but had certainly been left imperfected, so great was the disorder and poverty of the government, had not the town of Glasgow, out of zeal for their Majesties service, advanced credit for those small provisions, with 5000 pallisades, which the Major-General ordered to be dispatched with that party.

The project had so good effect, that the very noise of it occasioned such alarm among the rebels, that Buchan and Canon could only bring towards the latter end of April 800 of their worst men, the rest not daring to leave their country for fear of the frigates and the detachment foresaid. Which party of Buchan's being reinforced with some Badenoch men and others, advanced towards the Laird of Grant's country, where Sir Thomas Livingston fell upon them very opportunely, (the parliament being then in great heats,) killing and taking prisoners about 400, and dispersing the rest, which fell out upon the first of May.

In the month of March the Major-General being returned from Glasgow, where he was ordering the provisions for the detachment of 600 men, and the embarkation of the Danish horse, waited upon the Earle of Melvill, newly come down his Majestys Commissioner for the Scots parliament, and discoursed with him, touching the design he had formed, to

march into Lochaber with a confiderable body of the forces to build a fort at Innerlochy, as the only feasible way appearing to him of reducing the rebels to obedience, and proposed to his Grace a fit and well affected person, and of good credit, a necessary quality, considering the state of the finances, to officiate as Commissary or Provifor-General for that campaign, who shoud make timely provisions of bifket, meal, aquavitæ, deals and other wood for building of barracks or casarmes for the fouldiers in the fort that was to be built at Innerlochy, with ships for the transport of all the provisions and materials, both for subsistence and work. Which person his Grace rejected, seemingly upon the account that he would have 1000 libs. yearly for salary for himself and twelve afflstant or deputes, tho' I objēcted, that it were better for the King to give that summe than lose one week of the fit seafon to go about his service: And certainly we lost near fix weeks by the shift; besides, that the Receivers-General of their Majestie's revenues, who were afterwards employed, did not understand, nor minded it, as he would have done, having officiated in the same charge the year before.

In this mean time of the commissioners irresolution, whether of design, as the Major-General suspēcted, or by his natural temper, I know not; but a certain Colonel Hill, who in former times had been Governor of Innerlochy, coming by the King's order over from Ireland, a project was set on foot to subdue the Highlands by him, with a summe of money without forces. And for that end he was dispatched to Innerness with power to treat with some of the confiderableſt of the rebels, without ſo much as the leaſt communication thereof to the Major-General, in ſo much that the ſaid Hill was 8 days away before he knew any thing of the design. Whereof being advertized, he laughed at the nonſence to imagine to bind ſuch people void of all principles of honesty by any other engagement than that of force, but held his peace to ſee what ſhould come of it, only pushed on his preparations. To which the Commissioner ſeemed to give way, tho' there was certainly a design to have hindred him. Upon which a ceſſation of arms was proposed, and by the Commissioner granted, tho' quickly upon Livingston's

advantage recalled, that is an order to Fergufon not to act hostility for a certain time, which was lourdly misunderstanding of matters. The rebels demanding it for two chief reasons : the one to see how matters should go on in Ireland, and in expectation of succours from France or the said Ireland, with some appearance in England and on the borders by the disaffected party, with which certainly they kept intelligence ; and the other to make us lose the fit season for that expedition, knowing very well that after the month of August it is not possible to fix a garrison in that post, because of the continued rains much more abundant and frequent there than in any other part of the kingdom. This proposition I opposed as favouring of such persons as minded not well to the service. Withall the Commissioner told me that it came of Broadalbin. To which I answered that Broadalbin being a known ennemy to their Majesty's service, all his propositions of that nature ought to be considered accordingly. The Commissioner replied that he held him also for such, but that it seemed he was recommended to the King for a man capable to bring off the Highlanders, and that he had his order to make use of him to that effect.

In fine, I discovered that the Highlanders were represented to the King much more formidable than they were to be considered, and that I suspected for the following reasons.

1st. That the King might be put off of any design of mine to reduce them by arms, by which the contrivers might have two marks to shoot at, the one if King James's party should happen to be quite broke in Ireland, so as not to be able to succour it in Scotland, they themselves should be the men to bring them to obedience, whereby they would not only, as they thought, put money in their pockets, but render themselves necessary to their Majesties, as men who had that power over them, as to make them rebell and lay down arms at their pleasure.

The other, if upon the contrary that Jacobite interest should carry it, they would have sufficiently to testify, and not upon ill grounds, that they were the men which had contributed most to the maintenance of that party in Scotland, as having overturned by their interest with them who had

the truft of the Government, the infallible deſigns which were laid down for the reduction of the Highlands ; and the honour of this was to redound to the miniftry of thoſe in truft, as well as to the tools by which they a ct ed in caſe of the former, and to the conſuſion of one at whom they had a prejudice, who notwithstanding of any intereſt as to his reputation, he might by a natural deſire in men to do ſomething upon their own account which might appear to their maſter good ſervice, would certainly have ac quieſced to the deſign of the miſtir, if, 1ſt, he could have believed that thoſe who influenced them meant it ſincereſly, 2dly, if he could have con ceived it eſſeſtual to the end propoſed, which rationaſly ſhould be, to put thoſe rebels out of condition to trouble the Government any longer ; for in the firſt place, he had God the feaſher of hearts to anſwer to, if upon any private account of his own reputation or intereſt he would oppoſe any thing which he con ceived to tend for the good of the ſervice ; next he had the hazard of the general blame of the Government and of the King him ſelf to run, if in the execution of his way he might be diſappointed of what he pro poſed ſo eaſieble ; which by the untoward ſituation of the country, might fall out without miracle, tho' more likely it ſhould fall out other wise : But all the accidents of war cannot be throug hly ſeen of the moſt expe rimented, for the bat tle is not many times to the ſtrong, nor the race to the ſwift, but God diſcerneth the victory to whom ſoever he will.

Colonel Hill having eſſayed the Highlanders by a repreſentation of ſums of money, he found that it would not do, but that either he had not comiſſion to preſent enough, or that they did expe ct greater endeavours in favour of King James, which made him fall in the Major General's ſentiment, that without force he could do nothing.

At this paſt things stood when his Ma jefty took journey for Cheſter in order to his paſſage for Ireland ; and the ſaid Major-General finding that the Comiſſioner was influenced (as he thought he had ſtrong ground to ſuſpect) by perſons which he judged were neither cordial for the Government, nor his well-wiſhers, and that the King, nor others to whom he ad-

dress'd himself about his Majesty's person, answered nothing positively to what he proposed as to the carrying on of the war in Scotland, he dispatch'd Adjutant-General Hill to Chester, with letters to the King and the Earle of Portland, with the map of all the rebellious Highlands, and a brief description of the way he intended to proceed, with assurance, that if the securit of the kingdom required a quick dispatch, he would in eight days time leave the garrison sufficiently defensible againt all attempts of the ennemy, and in six days easly march be back again.

Upon which his Majesty permitted him to follow his own project, tho' Broadalbin, with a recommendation from the Commissioner, posted away to renverse it, and to offer his service to the King for the bringing off the Highlanders of King James's party, without the expences of fending an army to Lochaber, as they pretended, tho' in effect the little expences that was of it, were made already, so that the march to Lochaber, with all the work that was wrought by the forces there, (which was more than could be well believed in such a short time with such materials as the men had,) did not cost the Government above 300 lib. more than what they are to shorthen of the forces, such as provissons, I say, for the march of the army, the only things which can be brought into the King's accompts being freights of ships as well for transporting of the first party, with their provissons and the pallisades, spades, shovels and pickaxes, in number five sail, and the matter of 8 or 9 afterwards, with meal, deals and other wood, cannon and coals, with a frigat which they joyned to the two English frigates ; for all other things are to be shorthened of the forces, except it be some finall Items for losses, whereof no account can be given, as it falls out readily in such marches when there is too little convenience for the tranport of provissons.

The Major-General having obtained the King's liberty to go on with his design, with a charge to do it as quickly as posseble, having had the forces which he designed from the south to take along with him about 3000 quartered at and about St. Johnstoun, he took his leave of the Commissioner, who spoke much to him the night before dangerous plots,

in prefence of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, and the Earle of Levin, of design, tho' happily true enough, as he the Major-General conceived, to induce him to retard his march. To which he opposed, that tho' he knew of a certain, there were such designs of the contrary party to be speedily set on foot, that he was absolutely of opinion the safest measures should be to march with the better part of the forces against that ennemy, to fix a garrison at Innerlochey ; which, whatever might fall out afterwards in either or both the kingdoms, would fix him at home, so that of 4 or 5000 which (if we

Account of the late Outbreaking after the Settlement of the Garrisons of
Lochaber and Ruthen in Badenoch.

When the better part of the forces were in Lochaber, Buchan and Canon went to the low country, believing there were not forces to hinder their designs ; the former to Aberdeenshire, with about 60 or 70 horses of all sorts ; and the latter not having above 30 horse, most officers and their servants, to the Highlands of Perthshire. To him gathered together, out of design to robb, 3 or 400 Highlanders of the same country ; which, with the apprehension of a rising upon the Borders, alarmed the Commissioner and others of the Government ; who, notwithstanding they had the troop of guards, 4 troops of Cardrosses dragoons, with two troops of light horse, making at least 300 horse and dragoons, 27 or 2800 foot, sent none against them, but permitted the country to be spoyled, and houses burnt, within 3 or 4 miles of Stirling. The Master of Forbes mean time chased Buchan out of Aberdeenshire, with 4 troops of horse and dragoons, making him retire to Canon. About this time the forces were on their march south out of Lochaber, being haftned by a letter from the Council, and passing through Badenoch placed a garrison in the Castle of Ruthen, taking further march to Blair in Athole and Perth, where there were no

provisions, so that the Major-General was obliged to stay there till he had some biscuit brought to him from Dundee. At which time hearing that the rebels advertised of his approach took the hills, he marched after them with about 1000 horse and foot, but they having got the matter of 20 miles in head of him, and his party ill-provided of provisions, and having many sick, he returned them also to quarters of refreshment, not knowing what use the Queen in the then state of affairs might have of succour; therefor he lodged the most part of the forces towards the south, excepting three troops of dragoons and a troop of horse which he sent north.

General Remarks upon the Scots Wars in the Years 1689 and 1690, with the occasions of the Beginnings, increasing and continuation of the Rebellion against their Majesties Government.

That upon his Majesty's first landing in England, all Scotland was, for the most part, except Papists, rejoiced, and all the Ministers prayed for his good success, except such as were of corrupt principles of life as well as doctrine, every one being big with the expectation of advantages, and the church with that of its then government.

That a part of the nobility and gentry imagining themselves disappointed of their expectations, and finding the King somewhat more reserved than they expected, as being uncertain as then of mens inclinations, which they took for a design to favour mostly, and employ in the government, such of that nation as accompanied him from beyond sea, came down from England quite altered in their minds.

Upon which occasion, those who had really ill designs against their Majesties interest, laid diligently hold to form a party as well in the Convention as the country, and especially among the Highlanders, to overthrow the designs of the well-affected, to put themselves, by a general act of the nation, under their Majesties government. That to make their party the stronger, the ill-affected gained most part of the Episcopal clergy, who,

beginning to dispair of the continuation of that church government, cool'd in their affection to their Majesties, and began to favour the designs which were a forming contrary to their establishment in the supreme government of the nation.

That it is to be presumed that the particular designs of such in whom the King repos'd most trust, and by whose informations and advice he governed himself as to the affairs in Scotland, contributed not a little to the alienation of many of the principal subiects hearts from his government, whereby he might the better be informed of all their matters, but laboured to overturn that whereby they could not conceive a present prospect of advantage to themselves, tho' the ruin of religion and country would be the inevitable humane consequence of their criminal practices. That the present disorders of the English forces upon the retreat of the late King and his Majesty's administration of the government hindring the King's speedy resolution of sending supplies to Scotland and Ireland, and the despicable number which was sent to the former, emboldened Dundee, as well as the Highland clans, to declare for King James, and run to arms.

That if Dundee and his adherents had understood their advantages as well at firſt as they did in the prosecution of the war, and the inclination of the northern flires of the kingdom had been as determinately bent to favour their enterprize the firſt year of the war as it was the ſecond, the King had apparently met with a conſiderable opposition to his eſtablishment in the government, and a notable diversion for his arms, which might have hindred his other great designs, and created troubles to him in other parts of his dominions.

That the reaſon of the grouth of the discontents, and number of the discontented, appears to be the following :—

1ſt, That ſuch as by their vigorous appearance in the convention for their Majesties intereſt, judging that others who were longer known to his Majesty would carry the greateſt ſhare in the government, invented and managed a plaſible ſubiect of quarrelling his Majesty's counceſſors

upon a point wherein the interest of the subject seemed to be concerned, viz. a lawfull election of the College of Justice, how justly sustained I leave to the learned to determine; but certain it is, that their aftersteps make it appear that their design in the thing was self-interest.

That on the other side, such as were in possession of the places of advantage in the government, willing to maintain themselves therein rather than foresee the inconveniencies and dangers of the divisions which were like to ensue, urged the King's prerogative, and the afront it would be to him to pass from an act of his royal authority, and the bad consequence of it in the beginning of his reign; offering the examples of his predecessors in the throne, whereby [who, by ?] a gradual parting with branches of their royal prerogative were at last reduced to invincible difficulties, whereof the late troubles of these nations do afford recent examples, tho' it be very presumable that, as the other's zeal was their own establishment more than the interest of the people, so was that of the advocates of the royal prerogative, more the maintaining of their own share in the government than any true interest a Prince, without any design but the happiness of his people and the maintenance of the Protestant religion in all his perilous enterprize, had in the matter of the session, which, according to all moderate disinterested judgment, was not a matter of that moment for the King, as to hazard upon that account such divisions and factions as it did occasion even among that party which appeared the most zealous for his government, and the disorders which those divisions produced, by which the dying hopes of the ennemis thereof were revived, their designs renewed and set on foot, and their party notably fortified. And if the gracious providence of God, author of this happy and opportune change for all the Protestant interest in the world, had not prevented it by his overruling directions, what dangers had we not to expect from an army eight months living upon oppression; a people void of zeal either for religion, having very little except the form of it, or for their country oppressed by forces living at discretion; a church divided into two parties which, tho' both Protestant, were as irreconciliable as Rome and Geneva, or Calvin and

Bellarmin ; whereof the one, affiured to be outed, preached rebellion ; the other, by the frequent adjournments of parliament, fearing not to be establisched, at leaft as they would have it, threatned another ; besides the ftanding rebellion, and Jacobites labouring to overturn every thing which was contrary to the faction, which each of them owned.

That the counsellors of the frequent adjournments of parliament being intrusted with the management of the laft feffion thereof, during his Ma-jeſty's absence, finding the neceſſity of having money for the maintenance of the government and the carrying on of the war againſt the rebels, and the imposſibility of obtaining it without eſtabliſhing of the Presbyterian Kirk government at its full height, refolved, (tho' as ſuppoſed not without warrant if otherwife could not be) to ſatisfy that party's deſire, after it was diſcovered to be the carrying vote of the Houſe ; whereby it falls under conſideration whether the zeal of the miſtiers of ſtate for the maintenance of the royal prerogatiue in the matter of the feffion, hath wrought ſuch advantage for the King in any viſible or ſuppoſed reſpect, as the too great a latitude given to the Presbyterian party in their kirk government, conſidering their irreconciliable prejudices againſt all ſuch as have preached under biſhops (tho' I will not deny but that condefcenſion, as things then stood, was of an abſolute neceſſity) may create to his Ma-jeſty and the government troubls hereafter, by perpetuating untoward humours and dangerous deſigns in the kingdom, which, tho' by force they may ly covered with aſhes for a time, will upon occaſion be a ready matter to flame the kingdom into a rebellion, and furnish ſuch as would trouble the go-vernment with ground to hope for ſucceſs to their pernicious deſigns ; it being rational to believe the great number of miſtiers, which by rigid trials and partial judgements may happen to be put out, tho' blameleſs in their life and doctrine, and ready to comply with and preach under the preſent church government, as eſtabliſhed by law, tho' they cannot abjure the former as unlawfull and unchristian, ſhall in their private meetings and ſeparate afſemblyes, labour to entertain ſuch as are devoted more to Epifcacy than Presbytery, as well as their children in a liking of the

former and dislike of the latter. Besides that, it is a notable obstacle to a present peaceable settlement of the kingdom, and therefor that it is offered most humbly to his Majesty's royal consideration, whether it be not a matter worthy of his reflection, to hinder gently as much as possible the design of depriving of their churches in Scotland such as the greater part of their congregation are well pleased with, those against whose lives and doctrine nothing can upon just grounds be objected, and are willing to own and comply with the present Government in Church and State, especially in the northern parts of Scotland, which certainly as his Majesty's affairs at present do stand, by the blessing of God upon his glorious enterprizes, would notably contribute to the disabusing of the prejudged spirit of the people, and bring them unto a liking of the Government.

Ist. Advantage of the Highlanders.

That the Highlanders of Scotland do by their way of living, and nature of their habitation, surpasse the rest of the inhabitants of Scotland in valour and other qualities for the war, and that no new levies before they have been formed a while, and served a campaign, are comparable to them in their hills, especially where they can boldly attempt without hazard of any considerable loss tho' worsted, because of their nimbleness and speed of feet, to which their way of cloathing doth much contribute, which may be judged as the chiefest human reason of the advantage they got in Athole, all our forces being levies of a month or two old, without discipline, and ill armed, particularly against such an ennemy.

Id. Advantage.

That the situation of all the disaffected Highlanders of Scotland being contiguously seated together, separating the Lowlands, which form an half circle about them, furnished the rebels three to one of advantage in this war, so that their five thousand always together in body might give play to triple their number separate, as they must necessarily be, to hinder the ill-affected in the Lowlands to joyn them.

III. Advantage.

That by purfuing them in their hills and forests nothing could be advanced, because of the spaciousnes, and that they, if preffed, were able to march in one day as much as the regular forces could do in two ; besides that it is not poifible for any coniderable numbers to ſubfift in the Highlands, except the Government had garrifons in ſeveral parts of thoſe hilly countries, ſtored with proviſions ſufficient to ſupply the forces from place to place in purfuing the ennemy, as the Englifh ſeeing the neceſſity of it had, to which pitch of care and direcſion this Government hath not made the leſt ſtep as yet.

IV. Advantage.

That tho' thoſe diſſiculties were overcome, the Highlands are of ſuch a vaſt extent, and ſo full of grounds inacceſſible for other forces but ſuch as they are, and ſo eaſy a matter for the inhabitants to flun a rencounter with a purfuing ennemy, that by ſeparating each to his own country, not only they could ſave their perſons out of our reach, but alſo their families and goods, by the great numbers of inacceſſible roads and other ſtrong grounds, wher a ſmall number could keep off a greater, as ſome of them have praćtised this laſt campaign, when the forces were too formidaſe for them in Lochaber.

V. Advantage.

That if upon their ſeparation and diſiding themſelves into ſmaller bodies we ſhould do the like, as it is ſometimes praćticable and uſeſfull in other countries to abbreviate the war, when a man finds himſelf the maſter in the field, they by their exaſt knowledge of the ground before we ſhould be aware, could quickly joyn to fall upon our ſeparate bodies and catch them at a diſadvantage.

VI. Advantage.

That conidering the advantages of thoſe Highlanders in their own coun-

try and the necessity of forcing them to a submision to the present Government, it was upon reasonable suppoitions judged they could not be subdued without garifons in the midſt of their country, whereby they ſhould either be obliged to live ſummer and winter in their hills and foriefs, or be fo expoſed to the enterprizes of the garrifons if they ſhould inhabit their houſes, that at laſt they ſhould be forced to obedience, eſpecially that of Innerlochy, now called Fort William, was judged of all men void of ſelf ends effectual and neceſſary for that end.

Notwithstanding whereof ſuſh as had the chief direſtion in the Government by the influence certainly of ſuſh as wiſhed not to ſee a ſpeedy ſettlement, laboured to hinder and obſtruct the deſign of it, as the manifold delays and diſculties to which the enterprizes thereof were expoſed for lack of the neceſſary concurrence of the Government, together with the feveral addreſſes to his Maſteſt for liberty to go about it before the feaſon were loſt, or ſome other occurrence might furniſh a diuerſion for the forces, may ſufficiently make appear.

That the Highlanders during the forces abode in Lochaber, have (by the neglect of the Commissioner, who would permit no detachment to be made to hinder them) got a body of 200 horſe good and bad together, and engroſſed it afterwards by the irrefolution and precipitate retreat of 8 troops of our horſe and dragoons, who durſt not abide them. Whereupon and by the lyſes of the Jacobite party ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen joyned them, while the groſs of our forces lay beſouth Forth in expeſtation of ſome orders from the Queen in caſe of a French landing in England; which fear being over, a part of the ſaid ſouthern forces was marched northwards, which made the Rebels abandoп their deſigns and betake themſelves to the hills, whether we could not follow them upon theſe reaſons. 1ſt. That with foot they could not be overtaken, nor any conſiderable body ſuſh as could ſecurely march through their ennemy's hilly country, could not be 8 days ſubſiſted, both for want of magazines of proviſions, and tho' that were to be had, that there was no way to carry it along. 2ly. That a ſtronger body of horſe could not ſafely

march after them, because that such Highlanders through whose countries they marched, would without any manner of doubt lay hold upon an apparent advantage to joyn foot with the Rebels horse, to take our horse alone in strong ground at a disadvantage; which the ennemis of the commander of their Majestys forces did not understand, when maliciously they blamed him, becaufe the ennemy trotted up and down the hills the matter of three or four weeks, who understanding more of his trade than his censurers, separated the forces in four several posts betwixt the south and north, that where ever they shoud fliue their head in the Lowlands, they might meet with a body sufficient to attack, or chafe them to their hills, by which method he was sure they must with the firſt foul weather break of themſelves, beſides the want of forrage, proviſion and horse ſhoes.

Some ſhort Remarks upon the Preſent State of Scotland.

I. That there ſhould no time be loſt to ſecure and quiet the ſpirits in this Kingdom, by reaſon that ſuch as find themſelves under the laſh of the law ſhall be apt to flatter themſelves with the hopes of a change; whose diſpoſitions to embrace readily the occaſions of troubling the Government will be a laſting ground for their Majesties ennemis abroad to form continual deſigns upon this Kingdom, which would be muſt at an end if the Highlanders were diſpoſed to accept, and the King to grant a general pardon for bygones, excepting a few of the moſt criminal offenders for examples fake.

II. That the more generally the nation was infected with, and engaged in evil deſigns, the readier the pardon ought to be; it being a dangerous matter for the Government to leave a ſtrong combination in fuſpence and lying under fears of being called in queſtion thereaſter, it being ſuppoſed that their apprehenſions will put them upon evil contrivances, againſt the power of which they fear a reſentment.

III. That most or all the Protestant Jacobites of quality in Scotland are such for one of two reasons. 1st, Self-interest, being, in their opinion, disappointed of the advantages which they promised to themselves under this Government; and, 2ly, The fear of a rigid Presbyterian Government, under which they cannot propose to themselves to live easy and securely. For a remedy to the former, it's proposed that the King consider either in the government, or by pension, such as are known to be able to serve him best upon all occasions; and to the latter, that there may be formed a moderate Council, which, tho' they countenance only the Presbyterian Kirk government as established by law, may labour to keep a gentle bridle hand against their violences, and that no persons of quality especially be imposed upon as to their particular exercises of devotion in their own families.

IV. That a delay in the matter of pacifying the spirits and dissipating the fears upon the account of rebellion, or designs against the Government, by a general pardon, may not only render it thereafter more difficult, and the grace less esteemed and embraced, upon the hopes of foreign succours, but probably will be an invitation to the ennemis of their Majesties Government to use all means to divert the discontented from any resolution of submission to which the happy success of their Majesties arms had disposed them, if the occasion had been timely laid hold on, as also to form a real design of landing some forces in Scotland this winter, to make a diversion for their Majesties arms; all which timely measures to engage entirely two or three persons of considerable dependency in the Highlands would without any doubt prevent and disappoint.

V. That the same method observed in the former reign to fortify the royal authority in a design against the religion and interest of the people, is of the same import now to fortify their Majesties as well as the kingdom's true interest against all Pretenders to the Crown; that is, where a sufficient number of forces is wanting (the kingdom not being able to maintain it) to secure the Government against foreign and domesṭik attempts, to gain such of the subjects as are of greatest following and command to supply the said want, and serve upon occasion in place of other

forces ; and that the sooner this method is followed, the better effects in all appearance it shall take.

Memorandum of the Chief Things to be remarked and enlarged upon, occasion serving, since I came to Scotland.

In the month of March 1689, being sent down to Scotland with little more than a thousand foot, and about 200 dragoons and two regiments of English horse to quarter upon the borders, in case I had occasion to call for them, immediately I blocked up the Castle of Edinburgh, but having neither men nor artillery enough to attack it in form, I contented my self to hinder the besieged from all communication from without. I gave present orders for recruiting the companies of the three regiments, which I carried down to 100 men a piece, as also the Earle of Levin's regiment.

About that time the Viscount of Dundee, having disobeyed the State's summons, was by them declared rebel and fugitive. Whereupon I ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to the shire of Angus and town of Dunde to observe his motion, and hinder all rising in arms in that country, and labour to seize the said Viscount's person, and to fall upon and defeat any party or parties which shoud appear for him and against the Government.

The said Sir Thomas being informed that the Viscount quartered with some horse to the number of 50 or 60 in a place called Glen-Ogilby belonging to himself, and six miles from the dragoons' quarters, marched out in the night, of a design to surprize him, but he was gone the day before.

Within a few days thereafter, the Master of Forbes, whom I had sent north with instructions, advertised me that the said Dundee, with the fore-mentioned number of horse, was gone north to form a body there, which country seemed much disposed that way, by the interest of the Duke of Gordon, the Earle of Dumfermling, with several ill affected gentlemen and corporations.

Upon which intelligence, knowing the necessity of a present opposition

to thesee deigns, as well as the continuation of the blockade of the castle, and to hinder the escape of the Duke of Gordon, whose perfonal preſence in the north would bring a great weight to that party, I committed the latter to the care of the Brigadier Balfour, and having ordered the Marquis of Athole, the Earle of Mar, and the Laird of Grant, to guard the paſſages of their country, that Dundee might not escape to the combined Highlanders thereby, without danger of being taken or defeated, which they faithfully undertook, I took 200 fuſiliers of the three regiments, 120 of the Lord Colcheſter's regiment of horſe, and about 130 of Livingston's dragoons, and made great diligence to the north.

Being come to the lenth of Brechin, I had ſome report that Dundee was returning ſouth again, and tho' I did not believe that I would ſurprize him in a country more his friend than mine, nevertheless, I detached Major Mackay with 50 dragoons, and as many foot, to a paſs of a river or bridge four miles beyond my quarters, and two or three miles flort of a village called Fettercairn, at the foot of the hills which I was to paſs towards the north, with inſtructions to order his march ſo from the foreſaid paſſage, that by the break of day he might fall into the ſaid village, which he did accordingly, but found no man there, Dundee having been adverſiſed of my motions (as he was on his march and within fix miles of the ſaid village where he intended to lodge) by ſome people that had ſeen me paſs the ferrie of Dunde, otherwife he had certainly fallen into the ſnare.

Having the following day joyned my detachment, and ſent out fevral ſpies to know whether he turned head after that alarm, I got notice, that after a motion, as if he intended for the Braes of Marr and Athole, he turned down again to the Duke of Gordon's country, which the Earle of Dumfermling laboured to put in arms for him; but being again alarumed of my approach, he paſt Spey, which was occaſioned by the Laird of Grant's not following exaſtly my orders for guarding the paſſages of that river, which was an easy matter, had he parted from Edinburgh when I ordered; but I ſuppoſe this fault to have been more of ignorance than want of affection.

Dundee having past Spey, joined the number of nine hundred Highlanders, which received him as their General, and declared for King James, who, after they had received some contribution-money from the town of Innernefs, were resolved to march through Murray, and make that country take arms for the late King, as appeared by a letter of Dundee's to the Magistrates of Elgin: whereof I being advertised, tho' I was forced to leave the most part of the English horse at Brechin, so that I had but the 200 foot, 130 dragoons, and the matter of 40 horse with me, I marched with all diligence to be at Elgin before the ennemy, dispatching an express to the rest of the detachment of horse to come up at any rate.

Dundee finding that I had prevented his designs in Murray, and consequently in all the low countries which I had left behind, and happily not knowing that I had left the most of my detachment of horse so far behind, not being able for sore backs to follow, with the diligence I made, decamped from before Innerness, and marched towards Lochaber.

I not knowing the design of his retreat from Innernefs, and finding by all the intelligence I could get, that he was near triple my number, halted at Elgin till the rest of the English horse, to the number of 80 came up, to which I was moved, (besides the former reason,) because from all hands I was advertised that there were some ill men among the dragoons; and tho' I did not much believe those reports, nevertheless I thought it no prudence to fight them altogether.

Next day, after the foreaid horse had joined me, I marched straight to Innernefs, where, having lodged my few forces, I ordered four hundred of the Lord Rae's men, with three hundred of the Laird of Balnagowns men to come to joyn me, who accordingly came at the time appointed; and the Lord Strathnaver being come north, went diligently about getting his regiment together.

Meantime Dundee finding the Highlanders disposed, (such as Glen-gary, Lochiel, Keppoch, Macklean, Stuart of Appin, and Young MacDonald,) to raise their men at a time appointed, resolved, (whether to get a recruit of money or horse, or both,) to pass through the Braes of Bade-

noch and Athole to the shires of Perth and Angus, where he had many favourers and adherents, surprizing in the town of Perth a captain and Lieutenant of Horse, who were levying a troop in that shire, with a Lieutenant and Ensign of Foot, and 24 men sent thither upon execution.

From thence he past into the shire of Angus, got some gentlemen and King James's officers to joyn him, came to the gates of Dunde, where I had left two troops of dragoons to guard against such a design under Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, who did not so much as get his dragoons on horseback, or sent any of them to view the countenance or number of the enemy, which could not be much superior or better mounted.

Dundee having got some part of his errand, returned by the same way he came to the Highlands again, where he had received assurances from the Marquis of Athole's men, particularly from his baillie, who had the direction of his country, and command of his men in his absence.

This was a step sufficiently rendering the Marquis suspect as well to the government as to me, to whom he had engaged that he would not only hinder Dundee from passing through his country, but actually to oppose his undertakings.

After Dundee's return to the Highlands, and finding the Highland combination growing dayly stronger, and the nearest neighbours of Innerness, such as the Mackenzies, the Fraasers, and the Macpersons, giving me great ground of suspicion ; and judging that if I should retire to the south, the enemy would presently be master of all the country be north Tay, which as to men is the confiderable part of Scotland, I resolved that except there were a landing in the south out of Ireland, I would not quite those countries, till I should leave them better settled ; therefore upon the relation of my spies of the ennemy's frequent meetings and consultations, judging that they tended to put a formidable body in the fields, I dispatched an exprefs with orders to Balfour to send me in all diligence colonel Ramsay, with 600 chosen men of the three battalions, giving directions to the said Colonel by which way he should come to joyn me, and calculating the marches so that, according to the judgment I

made, I might have him before the enemy would be in condition to hinder our junction: At the same time I sent an order to make some regiments of foot, and Barclay's dragoons march into the south of Scotland, and not to Sir John Lanier, because I was uncertain of the issue of my northern expedition, to come himself to Edinburgh to take the necessary care there of their Majesties interest and service in my absence. Upon the receipt of my order, Balfour detached Ramsay with the foresaid number to ferry over at Leith and so to St. Johnstoun, but upon the appearance of some thirty Holland fishermen, the Privy Council being alarmed stopt his march two days, which was the first break of my measures.

The Hollanders being discovered to be no French men, Ramsay was permitted to pursue his way, who being advanced in the country of Athole, through which I ordered his march, as much the nearest way, he found it in arms. Ramsay staying beyond my calculation, and having daily intelligence of the gathering of the Highlanders together, I dispatched an express by the way which I had ordered him to come, to look for him, with instructions to the said Ramsay to spare no money to have intelligence of the enemy's motions, and in case he found them to be too numerous for his party, he should alter his march, and take more to the right of the Laird of Grant's country, who was in our interest, where I should labour to meet him with the few forces I had by me, in case I should have news of the enemy's motion to hinder our junction.

This express, tho' I chose him such as I thought should easily pass that country without being challenged, was stopt and made prisoner by the Marquis of Athole's baillie, and kept two days in the castle of Blair (after the said baillie had sent the letters to Dundee to Lochaber) till colonel Ramsay had past the said castle, the matter of ten or twelve miles, to me; from whence he dispatched an express to Innerness, to advertise me that he would be that night, being Friday, at the castle of Ruthen in Badenoch, about thirty miles from Innerness; but after he had sent away the said express, the man which I had sent to meet him, and had been made prisoner, being set at liberty, as I said before, after the said colonel had past

Blair, came after him without his letter, who having given him some imperfect account, that I had ordered him to lead the party, in case of intelligence of a stronger ennemy betwixt us by another way, and the men of Athole being altogether disaffected, magnifying the numbers of the Highland army. Ramsay uncertain what resolution to take, whether to pursue his march, or to return to St. Johnstoun, resolved at last upon the latter, which, though without any fault in him, not having received my last orders, did put me to a great dale of trouble and hazard always for the space of about a month, with what other accidents followed, to lose with my small forces (which were scarcely the fourth part of the ennemy's number) the north of Scotland, and occasion a great dale of commotion through the whole kingdom, if God by his providence and singular care of his cause had not diverted the evil.

The exprefs which Colonel Ramsay sent away before mine to him, which had been prifoner, came up to him, came to me at Innerneſſ on Saturday, and next morning I took with me what was in condition to march of my own party, with an hundred Highlanders well armed of the Lord Rae's men and as many of Balnagowns, leaving this last to command at Innerneſſ, till the Lord Strathnaver shoule come up, to whom I sent orders to come np with all diligence to guard the faid poſt; and having taken provisions only for two days, having no other deſign than to ſecure Ramsay's march, whom I expeſted to meet that ſame night, and ſo to return with the whole party the day following to Innerneſſ, the more becaufe the night before I had marched, I had news out of Lochaber that the ennemy was not moving as yet. But being advanced the matter of twelve miles, I received a letter, &c.

MEMOIRES ECRITTES PAR MONSIEUR HUGH
DE MACKAY LIEUTENANT GENERAL A SA
MAJESTE BRITANIQUE TOUCHANT LA DER-
NIERE CAMPAIGNE D'IRELANDE.

M.DC.XCI.

TOUCHANT LA DERNIERE CAMPAGNE D'IRELANDE.

1691.

MONSIEUR MACKAY ayant accompagné le Roy, de Londres jusquâ la Haye, dans la férme croyance que sa Majesté l'auroit doreſenadvant employé en Flandres, d'autant qu'il avoit heureuſement achevé les troubles d'Escoſſe, ayant tellement dompté les Rebelles de ce Royaume, que quoyque quelques uns de leurs chefs fe tinfent dans leurs cachots et retraittes des montagnes d'ou il feroit malaise de les chaffer du tout, fy nont ils jamais de puis pu former quelques corps, tant, les garnifons qu'il eſtablit au millieu d'eux les tiennent en bride. Ayant dis je fait eftat de fervir cette campagne la aux pais bas, fus furpris quand le Roy allant en Brabant pour tacher de faire lever le fiege de Mons, me dit que j'euffe a repaffer en Angleterre et de la en Irelande ou fa Majesté croyoit que je luy pourrois eſtre utile, pour afflitter au fiege des places dont elle feavoit que j'avois quelque experiance et eſtude, fa Majesté eſtant confirmée par les avis des Generaux qui commandoient alors les troupes en ce Royaume la, que les ennemis ne pouroient metre une armée en campagne, a caufe, felon leurs avis, que leur cavallerie eſtoit tellement ruynée pendant l'hyver quil ne

leur en restoit plus guere. Et de fait le Lieutenant General Shravemoer f'estant randu d'Irelande au retour du Roy en Angleterre luy tinst la meme langage ; l'affurant comme les autres que les Irelandois n'avoient plus 1500 chevaux au monde, et quoique le Roy neceſſairement ajouta quelque foy a ces avis quy venoient des mains quy en devoient le plus feſſoir, sy n'en fit pas toutes fois la regle de fes mesures, ayant commandé encore le regiment de Portland pour y fortifier fa cavallerie, quoy qu'il eſt bien a presumer qu'il prendroit la reducſion de ce royaume plus a cœur, f'il avoit eſté bien averty du veritable eſtat des ennemis commenous les avons trouvés a l'ouverture de la campagne, bien loin de ce que Monsieur Shravemoer en avoit repreſenté. Car ils avoient autant de chevaux et dragons que nous, et beaucoup plus d'infanterie, dont nous apprenons qu'il eſt de la derniere importance pour le bien du service et la reputation du General qu'on ait exaēte connoiſſance des forces ennemis, a fin de ne pas fe mesprendre en prenant des mesures pour la guere, et f'il arrive qu'il y ait de l'impossibilité d'en procurer toutes les lumieres neceſſaires, qu'on les prenne toujours au plus grand calcule qu'on f'en puſt raifonnablement imaginer, afin de ne pas conter fans fon hofte ; car effectivement l'ignorance de l'eſtat des ennemis comme auſſy d'autres circonſtances, et le manque de preparatifs neceſſaires ſuivant le plan naturel quon' devoit ſe former de cette campagne, nous la fairoit inutillement perdre sy Dieu n'avoit prié nos ennemis de jugement, et nous eut inspiré des deſſains que fa benediction ſeule rendent justifiables au jugement de tous ceux quy examineront au fond combien nous avons riſqué l'interēſt general de toute l'Europe, auſſy bien que le particulier de leurs Majeftés par tous les pas que nous avons fait cette compaigne, que le Dieu des armeés a fait ſy heureuſement reuſſir a l'avantage ſingulier de tous les Princes Alliez auſſy bien que l'affermiſſement du gouvernement de leurs Majeftés, dont il luy faut attribuer la louange et non pas a la conduite et force humaines.

Mons eſtant randu avant que l'armée des Alliez fut en eſtat de pouvoir raifonnablement entreprendre le fecours, le Roy f'en retourna en Angleterre avant que le Duc de Leynſter que fa Majefté avoit deſtiné pour le

commandement general de ses troupes en Irelande, et moy quy ly devois accompagner en qualite de lieutenant-general eusmes le vent favorable pour paffer. A l'arrivée du Roy a Londres, les mesures pour l'Irelande furent en grande partie changées ; car au lieu du Duc de Leynster, l'on determina de continuer Monsieur de Ghinckle au commandement de l'armée en Irelande, et il semble que le Roy resolut que durant cette campagne le Duc de Virtemberg n'eust point de tour de commandement non plus que Monsieur de Shravemoer, mais que tous les deux agissent en secong generaux, le premier commandant en chef l'infanterie, et l'autre la cavallerie, et que tous tours de commandement se fissent par les generaux majors dont il y en avoit dans l'infanterie quatre, et trois dans la cavallerie ; c'est pour quoy que le Roy apres avoir propoſé en conseil de me envoyer en qualité de lieutenant-general, changea de propos, dont je fus bien faché, croyant que cet honneur n'appertenoit non feulement pour les services que je luy avois randus en Ecoffé, mais auffy parce que j'avois este fait general-major par le Roy Jaques en mesmes tems que le Comte de Marleborough, lequel n'auroit pas manqué de m'avancer, comme luy si j'avois fuiy ses intérêts, mais me representant l'obligation dans laquelle se trouvent tous fideles protéfans de servir cet intérêt purement pour l'amour de Dieu et de sa vérité sans aucune considération du nostre particulier, je me confolay, résolu de servir le Roy cette campagne la de la même fidélité et affection que j'avois fait jusqu' alors, avertisissant toutes fois le Comte de Portland, que, si Dieu trouvoit bon de me la faire survivre, je chercherois un autre maître si je trouvois qu'on persiflât à considérer si peu mes services, l'affurant en même tems que ce ne feroit jamais un qui ne fut dans l'intérêt de sa Majesté et de la religion protestante. Et de cette manière pris congé du Roy, quoy ne me dit le petit mot sur les affaires d'Irelande, apparemment l'en remettant entièrement à ce que Monsieur Shravemoer luy en représenta, quoy que je descoubris en peu de tems, et quand je fus sur le lieu, qu'il l'en avoit formées des fort trompeuses jidées, et qui nous auroient pu faire perdre inutillement la campagne comme j'ai déjà touché, si Dieu, auteur de cette grande deliver-

ance, n'y eut pourveu en sa bonté infinie pour la liberté de tous les estats de l'Europe en general, et pour le bien de son eglise en particulier. Quant au changement de la resolution du Roy touchant le commandement general de son armée en Irelande, il n'y a nulle doute, que Shravemoer n'y aye le plus contribué, ayant declaré de ne pas vouloir servir sous le Duc de Leynster ; on alleguoit auffy que la nation Angloise, scavoir l'armée n'en seroit pas satisfaite, laquelle n'ayme guere la promptitude et rudeffé de laquelle on alleguoit que les commandements de ce general font d'ordinaire accompagnés ; mais comme c'eſt une nation naturellement brave qu'y ne fait jamais le moindre difficulté de marcher allaiſtement où leur general la commande, et reconnue dans cette guere, (quoy que les premices de ses services, ayant jouy d'un long repos qu'y luy a fait tomber les armes des mains,) pour la nation du monde la plus patiente et a l'epreuve des fousfrances, et la moins fujette a murmures, il n'y a nulle doute qu'un general de l'experience et bravoure de ce Duc ne prit fujet de ces qualités, tant neceſſaires aux gens de guerre pour faire bien reuſſir ce qui doit contribuer a l'establissement de la reputation et fortune de leur general, de traitter honnêtement et felon leur humeur les Anglois, lesquels ne fe plaignent de rien pourveu que leurs generaux leur donnent des tefmoignages de leur eſtime par leur civilité et honnêtetéſ.

Examinons a cette heure ſi ce changement eſtoit en apparence pour le ſervice du Roy. L'on ne scauroit nier que Monsieur le Duc de Leynster n'ait eu plus de moyen de fe munir d'une connoiſſance generale de la guerre, et du commandement general d'une armée que Monsieur de Ghinckle, parce que le premier eſtant fils d'un des plus grands capitaines de fon tems, ſous lequel il avoit fait la guerre, il n'auroit pas manqué de luy donner tout l'eſcſaſſement neceſſaire d'un metier auquel il l'avoit eleve des fon enfance ; qu'il avoit ſervy dans plusieurs pais où il auroit eu occasion de fe former le jugement en faifant les remarques fur leurs diſſerents manieres de faire la guerre ; et qu'en France il n'y a point de diſtinction des generaux de cavallerie et d'infanterie comme quelques autres pais, mais d'abord qu'on eſt avancé au deſſus du collonel il prent ſon tour de tout

commandement, ce qu'y donne une idée plus générale du service que les officiers n'en peuvent avoir dans les pays où ils sont attachés à l'étude de quelque espèce de troupes, comme la cavalerie est en Hollande. Outre ces considérations, il est à présumer que le Duc de Leynster connoissoit mieux la capacité et l'humeur du général de l'armée ennemie que Monsieur de Ghinckle, toutes fois il y ait un argument pour la continuation du dernier en Irlande (rejetant du tout ce qui servoit comme de peu de force, contre ce que je viens de dire) c'est qu'ayant passé tout l'hiver en Irlande et pratiqué quelque intelligence avec les ennemis, et les mesures pour l'artillerie et les vivres ayant été pris par son aveu et ses ordres, il semble qu'il auroit été hors de temps de lui donner un successeur au mois de May, ou le loisir auroit manqué de redresser ce qu'il auroit trouvé en désordre. Toutes fois puis qu'il a fait nécessairement pour entretenir la bonne correspondance entre les confédérés, que le Roi se mit à la tête de leurs communes forces en Flandre, l'importance de la guerre d'Irlande demandoit qu'on la fît prudemment aussi bien que vigoureusement, et par conséquent demandoit un chef instruit de tout ce qu'y en dépend, tant au regard de la manière de la faire selon la force et qualité de ses propres troupes, et celle des ennemis, que de la nature du pays, et de l'état des affaires tant en Irlande qu'en Angleterre, l'Escoffre, et par toute l'Europe, où un désavantage médiocre en Irlande pourroit avoir produit de méchants effets. Des réflexions de cette nature formées de bonne heure fait aussi songer à tout moyen nécessaire pour emporter de l'avantage sur les ennemis, sans être obligé, pour ne pas passer la campagne sans rien faire, de risquer le tout pour le tout, comme il nous arriva de faire en Irlande plus d'une fois cette année ci, comme la suite le montrera ; dont toutes fois je n'entends nullement blamer Monsieur de Ghinckle, étant impossible qu'une personne inaccoutumée au commandement général d'une armée puisse se former un juste plan de ses defféins et de tout ce qu'il lui faut pour les exécuter tellement qu'il ne descouvre d'abord qu'il se trouve engagé contre son ennemi, le défaut de prévoyance qu'y nécessairement enfante ce qui résulte des préparatifs ; car je confessé franchement que si j'avois bien entendu la

disposition des choses en Ecouze que j'en auvois abfolument refusé le commandement des troupes du Roy, ou j'aurois esté envoyé de maniere d'y establir son autorité Royale des la premiere campagne ; mais j'ay taché de remedier la seconde les fautes que l'ignorance du pais auffy bien que des ennemis m'ont fait commestre la premiere, quoy qu'avec moins de troupes et peu d'argent, parceque je l'avois tellement estudié pendant l'hyver que je m'en formay le plan de sorte qu'humainement il ne pourroit manquer de sortir son esteët, pourveu qu'on me laissat agir felon mes projects, mais quant a la guerre d'Irelande, la providance toute visible du grand Dieu, pour la gloire et verit salutaire du quel sa Majesté a pris les armes, les a tellement benies dans les mains de Monsieur de Ghinckle, que tout ce que j'en remarque ne fert que pour mon instruëtion, et non pas de dessein d'amoindrir l'estime qu'il en a acquise dans le monde.

Le Roy ayant establis les ordres necessaires pandant son absence en Angleterre, et despechez ses ordres pour Monsieur de Ghinckle felon l'idée qu'on luy avoit donnée de cette guerre, l'en retourne en Hollande au commencement du mois de May, et je pris mon chemin pour Dublin, ou estant arrivé, je fus d'abord trouver Monsieur de Ghinckle lequel, a son ordinaire a tout le monde, me reçut fort civillement.

Le Roy trouvant que le Lieutenant-General Douglas et le General Major Kirk estoient mal ensemble, (outre qu'il y avoit des grandes plaintes de habitans du pays, tant contre eux, que contre le General Major Laniere,) resolut de les retirer d'Irelande tous trois, jugeant que la mesintelligence des officiers de ce calibre ne se forme guere aux armés que les troupes n'en participent et que le service n'en patisse ; ainsy n'en voulant donner sujet de desplaïsir a l'un plus qu'a l'autre, les rapella les deux premiers en Flandres et Laniere pour passer l'esté en Angleterre ; m'envoyant avec le Marquis de Ruvignie et le General Major Talmouth en leur place, dont le service ne se trouva pas mal, non pas a l'egard de la capacité des successeurs plus que de ces messieurs que je dis, mais parcequ'on na jamais veu une armée dont les generaux auffy bien que les troupes, quoy que composées de quatre a cinqe nations differantes, vecuffent de meilleure intelligence

enfemble ; au conseil de guerre l'on voyoit bien de difference d'opinion, n'estant guere vray semblable qu'ils pussent tomber d'accord en tout et par tout, d'un metier dont les maximes changent selon les ennemis : les pais, et infinies autres circonstances dont la consideration nous oblige de changer de mesures, mais d'abord que la question estoit decidee par une resolution definitive du chef ou par pluralité des voix chacun estoit egallement porté pour l'avancement du dessein reffolu pour marque que tout le monde ne demandoit que la fin de cette guerre tant prejudiciable a leurs Majestées et a leurs allies. Avant mon arrivée en Irlande, le General avoit distribués ses ordres pour l'assembllement des troupes, celles des quartiers du nord jusqu'a l'entour de Dublin vers Molingar, ou l'on avoit fait une espece de magazin et de bouche et de guerre, avec de l'avoine pour la cavallerie, et celle des quartiers du sud environ Chonmelle [Clonmell] sous Monsieur le Duc de Virtenberg, le General n'ayant pas encore reffolu du lieu ou ces deux corps se devoient joindre. Comme je fus surpris de cette courvée d'Irlande, il me manquoit encore plusieurs chosse pour faire la campagne a mon arrivée à Dublin, de fort que je priay Monsieur de Ghinckle de me permettre le séjour de Dublin jusqu'a ce qu'il allast luy mesme a l'armée, ce qu'il m'accorda, envoyant Monsieur de Ruvignie au rendezvous de Molingar, et ordre au Lieutenant-General Douglas d'y mener les troupes qu'il commandoit au nord toute l'hyver passé. Dans les six ou sept jours que nous demeurasmes encore à Dublin, je pris la liberté de parler au General touchant l'intelligence qu'il avoit de l'estat des ennemis, l'estat de ses propres vivres, et l'ils estoient tellement logés qu'il en pust tirer des secours de quelque cofté qu'il jugeast apropos de tourner teste, et l'il avoit refolu de l'endroit ou il tenteroit le passage de Shanon. Il me repond que le Roy ne le retranchoit pas quant a l'intelligence qu'il ne luy manquoit pas d'argent, mais qu'il ne pouvoit pas se fier aux Ir[eland]ois papistes, lesquels seuls puissent passer le Shanon. Quoyque je sois d'opinion que Monsieur de Ghinckle, estant trop chargé d'autres affaires, laissoit le soin de cet article essentiel pour povour prendre des bonnes mesures a la guerre, (que sans intelligence l'on n'y fait qu'a tatons,) a des

gens quy n'en scavoient pas la methode, et ne se'n donnaient guere la payne ; tout le monde qui connoit les Irois affirment qu'il n'y a pas de nation au monde plus avaricieuse et mercenaire que celle-la, de sorte que le fils trahiroit le pere pour de l'argent, mais la vraye methode est d'establir des chefs d'intelligence, gens d'honneur, de fidelite connue, et pratiqués dans les pais ou l'on fait la guerre, quy tirent honneste traitement et ayant le soin de trouver des gens propres pour envoyer parmy les ennemis, tant pour en rapporter leurs propres remarques que pour tacher desbaucher quelques uns parmy eux ; et si dans les grandes armées il y eut quatre ou d'avantage establis de tels chefs d'intelligence quy eussent chacun une douzaine d'espions, tels qu'ils repondroient de leur fidelite, a bonne solde ordinaire, avec promesse d'une bonne recompence extraordinaire toutes les fois qu'ils apporteroient avis d'importance, et que les chefs et espions s'entre connuissent le moins que se puist ; je dis que moyenant telle semblable methode l'on ne feroit guere surpris d'une marche ennemie, et ne tarderoit guere d'avoir la connoissance de ses mouvemens, soit en corps ou par desfachemens ; car il y aurait toufjours des espions au camp ennemis, mais il les faut bien payer si on en veut estre bien servy, estant un metier ou il ny a point de quartier. Il me souvient, pour preuve de l'utilite de cette methode, qu'a la premiere campagne de la guerre d'Escoffre, avant qu'on avoit levées des troupes dans ce pais-la pour le Roy, voulant diffiper des assenbleés qui se faisoient au nord par le Vicomte de Dundee, je me transportay avec un party de 500 hommes, tant cavallerie qu'infanterie et dragons, ausquels je joygnis 200 montaignards, et me trouvay bientost engagé avec le dit Vicomte avec plus de 3000 hommes, et comme je luy voullois empêcher l'entrée dans un pais ou il auroit notablement grefly son party et mentenir la communication, avec du secours que j'avois mandé ne pouvant faire l'un et l'autre si je changeois de poste ou me retirois trop tot ; et voulant auffy donner d'autant plus de tems a mon secours de m'approcher, a fin que quand l'ennemy avanceroit vers mon poste, d'où a son approche jettois resolu de me retirer (d'autant plus que j'avois descouvert quelques jours aupara-

vant de l'intelligence entre les officiers d'un regiment de dragons que j'avois avec moy, quy faisoit environ 180 hommes, scavoir la plus part des capitaines et subalternes, ayant pour chef de leur dessein criminel le lieutenant-colonel, quoy que personne de bonne qualité, au quel j'avois rendu des bons services pres du Roy,) je dis que non obstant ces circonstances croustilieuses voulant profiter du temps pour les raisons susdites autant qu'il me feroit possible par une mine de vouloir attendre l'ennemy de pie ferme, je conjuray le seigneur du pais ou je me trouvay de me fournir douze hommes fideles de ses payfans que je tiendrois a bonne folde tant que je resterois dans ces terres, ce qu'il fist, estant affectioné a l'interet du Roy ; a l'ayde desquels je restay encore la quelques jours, ausquels mon secours m'approchoit tousjours, si bien que quand les ennemis m'avoient approché d'une demie lieue a l'entrée de la nuit, je me retiray, joygnant en deux jours de marche les troupes que j'attendois, avec lesquels je tournay teste court fur les ennemis, et les aurois infalliblement surpris, sy les memes officiers de dragons n'en avoyent de nuit dans la marche detaché deux pour leur en donner connoissance.

Quant aux vivres Monfieur de Ghinckle m'assura qu'il n'en manqueroit pas quelque dessein qu'il entreprit, et je me persuade qu'il les croyoit tellement disposes ; et pour le passage du Shanon il fut resolu que ce feroit pres de Banaker pour les suivantes raisons, 1°. que le general croyoit avoir pratiquée quelque intelligence avec le commandant d'un petit fort au bout d'un pont de pierre au dit lieu, quy nous auroit accommodes tout autant que la prise D'Athlone quant a nous rendre maistres du Shanon, 2°. qu'il fut averty qu'au deffaut de ce dessein il y auroit un fort bon guay [gué] par lequel avec un pont de pontons le tout favorisſé d'une groſſe artillirie l'on esperoit de forcer son passage ; et comme les ennemis formoient leur armée a Lochreagh selon son intelligence, lieu également distant de Limerick, Galway, et Athlone, pour puis apres se regler selon nos mouvemens, estoit cependant commodeſſement postés la, pour les vivres qu'ils tiroyoient de Limerick et de Galway ; il crut avec les Lords justices qu'en formant le dessein du passage au deffus d'Athlone on laisseroit toute la province de Leynster et

ce qu'on tenoit dans celle de Munster exposé aux ennemis si laiffans Athlone, Limerick, et Galway bien pourveus du monde nécessaire, il leur prit envie de f'y jettter avec leur cavallerie et bonne partie de leur infanterie, au lieu que passant a Banaker ou a Melicks, qui en est a deux milles, nous serions en estat (comme nous nous estimions maistres de la campagne,) de les couper du Shanon, et trouver le moyen de les obliger au combat, ou bien en faisant un deſtachement d'infanterie pour affliger Athlone, obſerver les ennemis avec le reſte de l'armée. Voycy les vrayes raiſons pourquoy il fut arreſté encore a Dublin que le paſſage fe devoit tenter aux endroits fuſdits, et jamais il n'entra dans l'eſprit de quy que ce fut de propoſer Athlone pour l'y tenter, jufqu'a ce qu'un certain ingenieur François, qui avoit deſerté des Irois l'année pre-cedante, en fit l'ouverture a Monſieur le Duc de Virtemberg, comme je toucheray enſuite. Cependant Monſieur de Ghinckle envoia ordre lors qu'il partit de Dublin pour Molingar au Duc de Virtemberg de mouvoir doucement avec fon corps prenant le chemin de Cafkall, et Tharles vers Roscrea, et manda Monſieur de Tetau, General Major de l'infanterie Danoise, aupres du luy a Dublin, ou il fut mis en deſliberation ſi on devoit laiſſer Balimer bloqué fans l'amuser a le prendre, ou bien par la priſe de ce fort faire l'ouverture de la campagne ; la raiſon pour la blocade fut qu'il nous pourroit arreſter quelques jours quy feroit autant de temps gayné pour les ennemis, et pour l'attaque (qu'y l'importa) que ce feroit un affront et de mauvais example de paſſer une bicoque comme celle la avec un armée Royalle fans la prendre, outre quelle incommoderoit fort nos convoys ſi bien qu'on refolut de commencer par cette attaque.

Monſieur de Ghinckle, ayant donné les ordres qu'il crut neceſſaires a Dublin, en partit le 29 de May, et arriva a Molingar le lendemain a vers le midy, accompagnée de Monſieur Tetau et moy. Dans cette marche je remarquay que nous etions pas affes pourveus de chevaux pour l'artillerie, parcequ'on ne la puſt traîner de Dublin a Molingar que par les renvoie des chevaux, et fus fort furpris de voir une place dont on faisoit eas, comme une magaſin de munitions de guerre et de bouche, d'où l'armée devoit

uniquement subfister, n'y ayant point d'autre communication de ce costé-là entre elle et Dublin, source de tous nos secours, ouverte par tout comme un village, et ne pouvois pas empêcher d'en tefmoigner mon estonnement a Monsieur de Ghinckle le priant pendant qu'on l'arrestroit la qu'il ordonna des deſtachments de l'infanterie quy f'y trouvoit desja pour travailler a quelque espece de cloſture quy la mit aucunement hors d'insulte ; jugeant qu'il ne faloit pas long travail pour l'affurer contre un ennemy que l'auroit soufferte desja quelques mois ſi pres de luy dans cet eſtat fans l'avoir visitée quoy qu'il n'y eut dedans qu'un regiment qui ne faifoit pas 300 hommes capables de ſervice. L'on conſtruit donc quelque chose pour l'enfermer com- prenant les pieces qu'on y avoit desja conſtruites, quoy qu'apres tout on l'avoir laiffée fort insultable, ny ayant travaillé que trois a quatre jours, lors qu'il fut resolu apres la junction de Monsieur Douglas de marcher a Balimer avec un corps d'environ neuf a dix-mille hommes ; j'etois d'opinion d'attendre quelque peu de jours pour metre cette place en quelque eſtat qu'on ne la puſt pas emporter d'amblée, pendant qu'on feroit approcher le corps que commandoit le Duc de Virtemberg, parce dis-je que les ennemis eſtant maiftres de tous les guays et ponts du Shanon (favorisés du pais) apparemment bien informés de toutes nos marches au lieu que nous n'avions nul avis certain de leur eſtat prefant, ils pourroyent, (nous trouvans ſeparés par cinque a fix marches) paſſer ledit fleuve avec toutes leurs forces pour nous forcer l'un ou l'autre de ces corps ſeparament au combat, ou au- moins nous tellament ſeparer que pour eviter un combat ſi inegale, il n'y auroit point d'autre remede que de nous retirer vers Dublin, comme le Duc feroit oblige de faire autant vers Kilkenie, pour de cette maniere chercher le moyen de fe joyndre en feureté. Ajouftons que ſi nous laifſions ce poſte ſi mal affuré, d'abord que nous prēndrions le chemin de Melicks et Banaker, les ennemis pourroient faire paſſer des troupes par Athlone ou Lansboroegh pour nous l'enlever, cela non obſtant ceux quy pretendoient gaigner du tems par cette marche, ſouftenans qu'il ne falloit pas appre- hender des entreprises de cette nature des Irois l'emporterent, ſi bien que nous voila devant Balimer, fort de ſituation mais mal fortifié eſtant

arrivés tard devant ce fort l'on ne peut rien faire ce jour la que camper, le lendemain l'on tira du canon et deux petits mortiers, et l'on fit metre dans le lac quatre batteux aveque quelques pontons, pour les attaquer par eau, aussy bien qu'au travers d'un marais en comblant les fossés de fascines, et par la teste couverte d'une tenaille flanquée et pallissadée, ou l'on avoit fait bresche, cet appareil fist chanter la garnison quy se rendit a discretion.

J'ay remarqué que de ce costé-la il n'y avoit nul magazin que celuy de Molingar entre Dublin, (source de tous nos secours d'argent, de vivres, et de munitions de guerre) et l'armée, ny aucune communication entr' eux que cette place, jusqu'a la prise de Balimer ou il ni avoit la moindre commodité pour loger un magazin, si bien que tout son utilité confisloit en ce qu'on avoit privé les ennemis d'un poste d'en ils auroyent incommodé nostre communication avec Molingar et Dublin, et d'en avoir si pres D'Athlone pour favoriser nos convoys de ces deux lieux, d'abord que nous aurions establie la communication pres d'Athlone sur le Shanon.

Avant que passer outre disons un mot sur le sujet des magazins et de leur utilité ; comme toutes les operations de la campagne dependent de ce qu'il y en ait de bien fournis, et tellement logés pour la commodité de l'armée, quelle ne manque jamais de vivres ni de munitions de guerre, il semble d'une nécessité indispensable qu'un chef d'armée se forme de bonne heure un projet ou plan general de tout ce qu'il peut raisonnablement se proposer de pouvoir entreprendre durant la campagne, par ou commencer ou finir, afin que si le pais dont il se trouve maistre ne luy fournit pas des lieux de seureté qui l'accomodent pour loger ses munitions felon ledit plan, il travaille pendant l'hyver de l'en pourvoir et remplir, soit en fortifiant ou en enlevant des ennemis ; d'autant que fans une providance toute spéciale de Dieu, telle qui accompagnoit les armes de leurs Majestés cette campagne-ci en Irelande, d'abord que ses secours manquent il faut quitter tout pensée d'entreprendre sur les ennemis, quelque avancé qu'on se trouve dans son dessein. Suivant l'opinion d'une certaine personne laquelle, voulant signifier la nécessité indispensable de cette partie de la conduite d'un General, dit qu'une armée est un animal lequel il faut commencer a former

par le ventre, voulant donner a entendre par la il n'y a rien plus a faire que de les ramener ou ils en puissent etre fecourus, ce qui ne se peut fans grand deftriment du service.

Retournons a cette heure a nostre recit qui nous fournira les occasions d'en remarquer d'avantage la necessité, parceque cette feule manque nous pensa faire perdre la campagne fans la benediction d'en haut qui a supplée a tout defaut.

Apres la prise de Balimer il fut consulté si l'on devoit faire avancer le Duc de Virtemberg de ce côté-la, ou bien luy envoyer ordre de l'arester a Balibog a six milles du pont de Banaker, la plus part des Generaux furent pour le laisser pres de ce paassage pour ne luy pas faire faire le chemin deux fois, a quoy je m'opofay, donnant mes raifons par eſcrit comme l'ensuit.

Que l'experience a ſouvent fait voire le danger de trop mepriser les ennemis ; que pour appliquer cette doctrine a nos prospres circonſtances, il pourroit etre de mauvaife conſequance de ſuppoſer les ennemis que nous avons en teste ſi abattus et hors d'eſtat que de ne rien oſer entreprendre fur un corps de neuf a dix mille hommes en cas qu'ils ayent toutes leurs troupes ensemble et qu'on leur en prete l'occation, qu'en ſe tenant ſéparé de trois a quatre marches un General accort et entendu au metier, dont toutes les troupes connoiſſent parfaitemenr bien le terrain, pourroit eſtudier et l'en procurer l'occation.

Que nous ne pouvons pas nous fier tellement fur les avis que nous puifſions avoir de l'eſtat des ennemis, de l'autre côté du Shanon que d'en faire la regle de nos meſures.

Que, nostre refolution eſtant de tenter le paſſage du Shanon a Banaker ou Melicks, nous devions, pour en ſurprendre les ennemis, faire paroifſtre toute autre choſe a leur jugement pluſtot que ce deſſein-la.

Que les ennemis eſtans avertis du mouvement du Duc de Virtemberg vers Streamifton a trois ou quatre milles de Balimer, dans le meſme tems que le General ſe mit devant ce fort, voyant le dit Duc fur la reduction de Balimer l'arreſter tout court fur le droit chemin de l'armée a Banaker, en conclueront naturellement que nostre principal deſſein pour le paſſage du Shanon eſt formé de ce côté-la et l'y oppoſeront.

Que la junctiōn du Duc avec le General pres de Balimer, et enſuite un campement de toute Parmée enſemble dans les voifinage d'Athlone, leur donneroit apparemment une autre penſée, et attireroit le gros de leurs troupes ou ils apprehenderoient le plus notre deſſein de tenter le paſſage.

Que l'armée tout en corps ayant fait le dit mouvement, et pouſſans deſ partis du coſté de Lanſboro ou il y avoit, outre le pont, un bon gùay, auſſy bien que poſtant des gardes pres d'Athlone pour cacher les ſuivans mouvemens aux ennemis, et faſtant reconnoiſtre des endroits pres de cette derniere place propres pour jeter un pont fur le Shanon pourroit tellement amuſer les ennemis que par une ſubite marche de nuit avec la moitié des troupes par le grand chemin d'Athlone a Limerick, moyenant qu'il ſoit praćticable avec l'attirail neceſſaire l'on paſſat le Shanon fans opposition conſiderable, ou a l'aide des chevaux de frife et par un dilligent travail, l'on fe mettroit en moins de rien en eſtat d'attendre la junctiōn du reſte de l'armée (qui auroit reſte jusqu'au lendemain dans le voifinage d'Athlone pour amuſer les ennemis et leur deſrober cette marche,) fans coure aucun riſque.

Et finalmeſt, qu'en tout cas la junctiōn des troupes nous mettroit en repos, en privant les ennemis de l'occaſion de former quantité des deſſeins auquels noſtre ſeparation leur ſerviroit de fondement, dont, par malheur et la connoiſſance exaēte qu'ils avoyent du paſs, quelqu'un pourroit reuſſir au deſavantage des armes et du ſervice de leurs Majefteſ.

Enfin la junctiōn fut refolue, a quatre milles de Balimere fur le chemin d'Athlone, et le Duc l'eſtant avancé jusqu'a Streamſton, vint avec quelques officiers entre autres le Marquis de la Foreſt trouver le General encor campé pres de Belimere. A cette entreveüe le dit la Foreſt propose le ſentiment d'un certain ingenieur François, lequel avoit comme il dit l'année d'auparavant travallie aux fortifications d'Athlone, c'eſt qu'il ſouſtеноit qu'il y avoit de noſtre coſte de la Riviere des hauteurs d'ou l'on voyoit tous les endroits de la ville de dela, ſi bien qu'un nombre capable de la deſendre ne pourroit pas l'y tenir acouvert de noſtre feu, il dit auſſy qu'il y avoit un guay au deſſous et tout pres du pont par ou il voyoit paſſer ſouuent des foldats, mais ne ſcavoit pas dire combien il y en pouvoit paſſer de front.

De la a deux jours l'armée mouvant de Baltimore et de Streamfion en mesme temps se joignit, et marcha le lendemain en corps jusqu'a deux milles d'Athlone, d'ou de bon matin le General Major Tetau fut destaché avec quatre regimens d'infanterie et quelque cavalerie et dragons pour se poster au dela de tous les deffiles, lequel fut suivi de pres du general et du Duc de Virtemberg ; cepandant le pais etant ferré, et trouvant qu'il ny avoit que peu d'infanterie paflée devant, en cas que les ennemis par avantage eussent fait passer de nostre costé quelque nombre considerable de leurs troupes pour nous disputer les avenus de cette place, j'avanceay a grand pas avec la reste de l'infanterie, lorsque le feu de nos escarmoucheurs me le fit redoubler, meme le General ne sachant de quelle force les ennemis l'y pourroient trouver, envoia pour nous faire halter voyant les ennemis faisant contenance de luy vouloir disputer les Hayes et rideaux qu'y estoient pres de la ville, desquells touts fois Monsieur de Tetau les chassa dans leur place et, l'en empara fans autre secours.

L'escarmouche paflée, et les ennemis chassés dans leur place, l'on marqua aux troupes un peu loin de la place comme on n'avoit pas resolu de ce qu'on y devoit entreprendre, quoy qu'il semble qu'on se fut trop approché pour une feinte seulement de ce costé la, tout nostre camp etant exposé a la veux des ennemis. Cette nuit je relevay Monsieur de Tetau, et l'on resolut de faire une batterie de huit pieces de vingt-quatre livres pour faire breche, ce qu'y fut executé avant cinque heures apres midy du lendemain, auquel temps l'on resolut de donner l'assaut a la breche quoy qu'entre elle et la batterie le space de trois cents pas, il n'y eut point de couverte qu'un chemin pavé qu'y tiroit vers une porte a la droite de la dite breche. Comme cette action fut résolue pendant mon tour de commandement, je la commanday, et avec moy les brigadiers Stuart et Vitkimhof, les regimens etants ceux de Stuart Anglois et Vitkimhof Danois, soustenus de celluy de Bruer Anglois et de Naffau Holandois. L'attaque devoit commencer par deux cents grenadiers commandées de toute l'armee, dont ayant fait la disposition, j'ordonnay aux grenadiers de couler le long du pavé suudit jusqu'a ce qu'ils fussent vis avis dela breche a fin de n'etre pas

300 pas exposés au feu des deux villes ; ordonnant à Stuart avec son régiment de souffrir les dits grenadiers, lequel fut suivy du régiment Danois, puis de Bruer suivy de Naflau. Ayant donc expliqué les ordres à tous fort distinctement et fait partir les grenadiers, je me mis sur la batterie à pied pour voir comme cela se suivroit, afin qu'ayant une veue de tout, je pusse accourir ou ma préfance feroit le plus requis, et ny fus pas un moment l'orsqu'ayant remarqué [que] la teste non seulement avoit pris le chemin trop à la droite, mais que le Lieutenant avec trente grenadiers qu'y marchoit à la teste des grenadiers l'arrestoit guere loin de la brèche dont les ennemis commenoient à prendre cœur et paroistre plus ouvertement sur la brèche, j'acourus vistement au régiment de Bruer, qu'y suivoit les deux autres à la file, et ayant pris le premier Capitaine que je rencontray par la main sans m'amuser à courir à la teste, luy montré par où il devoit pousser à la course droite à la bresche, le faisant suivre de tout ce qu'il y avoit derrière luy du régiment, par où, quoy qu'il fut le troisième régiment, fut avec les premiers à la bresche. Puis apres je poussay aux autres régiments qui estoient devant, lesquels par ce mouvement d'une partie de Bruer, commencerent apprendre le bon chemin. Le desordre de la teste étant arrivé de ce que le Lieutenant commandant les trentes grenadiers fut tué, et le Lieutenant-Colonel commandant tout ce détachement avoit reçeu un coup dans le genou qu'il le mit par terre, ce que le Brigadier Steuart ayant remarqué, l'avancea avec son régiment, poussent en même temps avec le régiment de Bruer dans la bresche, et poursuivant les ennemis jusqu'au bout du pont entre les deux villes, où il reçut un coup de mousquet qu'il fracassa le bras ; de forte qu'il fut mis hors de combat pour le reste de cette campagne, qu'il fut une perte pour le service, étant brave homme, et très affectié et attaché à l'intérêt de leurs Majestés, l'on remarqua que beaucoup des ennemis se retirerent par le guay cy dessus mentionné au dessous de pont ce qu'il nous obligea de faire de logemens contre i celluy aussi bien qu'au bout du pont n'y ayant encore aucun dessin formé de profiter de cette action pour attaquer par la l'autre ville, il est certain que si nous avions à nostre arrivée près d'Athlone nos pontons avec nous que nous

aurions pu passer la riviere au deffus de la ville avant que l'armée ennemie campée a Balinofloe 10 a 12 milles d'Athlone, l'y fut pu oppofer, n'y ayant que peu de troupes en meschant ordre qu'on avoit d'abord fait, defcamper par quelques coups de canon sur l'autre bord, mais le nombre convenable des chevaux d'attirail nous manquoit de forte qu'on ne pouvoit pas avoir le gros canon, les pontons, les munitions, et les vivres que par le renvoi des chevaux, ce qu'y non feullement retarda le service, mais l'auroit du tout empêché, sans une providance toute evidante qu'y suppleoit a tous deffauts.

Cette ville estant emportée, il fut trouvé raisonnable qu'on ne l'abandonna pas, mais quelle fut mise en estat d'y laisser le gros canon et tout ce qu'y pourroit embarrasser a la marche, en cas qu'on demeurast dans la resolution de tenter le passage ailleurs. Voicy l'estat des affaires lorsque le gros canon arryva au camp, lequel par la persuasion du Duc de Virtemberg, de Monsieur Shravemore, et enfin de la plus part des Officers Generaux, fut mis en un batterie contre les defances de l'autre coste, et eut tout l'effet qu'on l'en pust promettre, considerant que cestoit de la terre ou d'ordinaire il ne fait pas tant d'effet qu'aux murailles, l'on se proposa de construire un pont de pontons entre les deux villes, de reparer les arches rompues du pont de pierre, en poussans une gallerie foustueuse de chandeliers, et couverte de fascines, et Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg fit souder le guay en plain jour par deux Danois, armés de cuirasses, sous la faveur d'un feu continu du canon et de mousquet. Le premier de ses defféins l'avorta par ce qu'on ne pouvoit pas construire le pont des pontons sans trop exposer ceux qu'y travailleroyent, pour le second l'on reparra bien deux arches, mais la troisième nous manqua au point de l'excution, comme il se dira, si bien que de tant de projets pour passer ce fleuve avec une bonne teste, en cas que les ennemis fissent une vigouruse deffance il ne nous resta que le guay quand ce deffein fut tenté, non obstant tout ce que ceux qu'en consideroient la consequnce, en cas que ce passage ne réussit pas a souhait, pussent alleguer pour en destourner le General et le persuader de fixer sa penée sur quelqu'autre endroit, pourvu que le deffein en fut bien

secretement formé, et diligemment et refolument executé, il ne pouvoit pas bien manquer n'y risquer le service du Roy, tant ou nous voyons la main de Dieu fort visible, car, que ce paſſage ait été, contre toutes les maximes de guerre et d'estat, il paroît en ce qu'on l'engageoit dans une action, ou quoy qu'il ne fut pas possible d'y perdre plus de deux milles hommes, qu'y ne laisſeroit pas, tant en Irelande, qu'aux autres estats de leurs Majestes et chez leurs Allies, de produire les mesmes mechants effets que une bataille perdue, veu quelle pafferoyt pour telle par-tout, et qu'il y eut cents raifons valables contre, ou les favoriseurs de ce deſſein n'en pufſent alleguer que le mepris des Irois pour le ſouftenir, il eſt conſtant quoy qu'il faille confeſſer en mesme temps que de la maniere que Dieu la fait reuſſir l'on n'auroit jamais pû mieux n'y ſi bien refoudre d'une autre maniere.

Le troiſieme jour de noſtre campement devant Athlone, et apres que nous fumes maître de la ville de Leynſter, voicy St. Ruth avec une nombreufe armée quy vinf camper de l'autre coſte fe faiſſant de toutes les hauteurs au deſſus de la ville, et fit achever un retranchement qu'on avoit commandé le long de la riviere ou il logea du monde, c'eſtoit juſtement l'unique endroit pres de la ville ou l'on puf tenter le paſſage a l'ayde d'un pont, ſ'il n'y avoit pas une l'y grande force de l'autre coſté, le terrain y eſtant fu, quy eſt fur les bords de cette riviere quelque chose de rare. L'on viſita diligemment les bords de la riviere, et tout le monde trouvant du danger au deſſein du paſſage par la ville, l'on ſeroit bien ayſe qu'on puf tomber d'accord, d'un autre endroit quy n'en fut toutes fois guere loin ou il n'y euf pas tant de riſque a coure, quel qu'un penſant en avoir trouve le ſecret propoſé qu'on fit paffer l'infanterie fur un marais d'une grande eſtendue environ d'une bonne mille de la ville ou place, laquelle eſtant rangée fur le dit marais, ou la cavallerie ennemis ne pourroit pas l'approcher, elle pourroit puis apres deſcendre le pluſtoſt en bataille vers l'endroit ou les ennemis eſtoient retranchés, et la faire deſcendre fur le pont pour paſſer la cavallerie, deſſein d'autant plus perilleux que celuy de forcer le paſſage par la ville qu'on y riſqueroit viſiblement la perte de

toute cette infanterie la ; premièrement, parceque celle des ennemis la pourroit attaquer à demie paſſée, que les hauteurs en estoient ſi près que le mousquet y porteroit, ou les ennemis pourroient loger tout leur canon, et qu'en descendant pour favorifer le paſſage de la cavallerie, et l'emparer du retranchement ennemi, elle l'engageroit dans une playne commandée de bien près, non ſeullement des fuſdites hauteurs, mais auſſy de feu de la ville, et l'expoſeroit à l'attaque de leur cavallerie. Qu'on juge apres cela de la nature de nos propositions. Quelque fois a cela je dis tout franchement, ſi le General ne pouvoit jettter ſa penſée que fur l'une de ces deux ou par la, ou par la ville, que je ferois pluſtoſt pour cette dernière, parcequ'on n'y pourroit pas riſquer la perte de toute l'armée, a cauſe que nous y ferions viſtorieux, ou aurions été repouſés avant que nous aurions fait pas paſſer 1200 hommes ; mais que ſi c'eftoit à moy à choiſir, j'en choiſlerois bien un troiſieme, dont je prenois quelque fois la liberté d'entretenir Monsieur de Ghinckle tout feul, voyant que jamais nous n'en tomberions tellement d'accord au conſeil de guerre qu'il n'en reſtab tousjours matiere de ſcrupule pour lui, lequel jusqu'à lors n'avoit jamais fait le metier de l'infanterie ou des ſieges, dont toutes fois il faloit tirer les exemplaires pour justifier ce qu'on propoſe de cette nature ; et comme on ne pouvoit jamais obtenir liberté dans nos conſeils d'achever ſans eſtre interrompu tout ce qu'on avoit à dire, je m'acoutumois de mettre mon opinion par eſcrit quy fut ici a Athlone comme l'ensuit.

Qu'on a estimé de tout temps le paſſage d'une riviere conſiderable, ou il faille defiler quatre a quatre par un feul pont en prefance d'un ennemy quy n'est pas tout a fait meſprisablen, l'eftant ſayſy de tous les avantages du terrain de l'autre coſté, l'une de plus perilleuſes actions de la guerre ; et pourtant que la plus part des paſſages de cette nature, dont nous avons des exemplaires ſe font faits par ſurprise en donnant jalouſie d'un coſté pendant qu'on paſſoit d'un autre.

Que noſtre marche vers Athlone et priſe du coſté de Leynſter de cette place, y ayant, ſuivant le deſſein quy nous y mena, attirées toutes les forces ennemis, l'occation ſe prefante ſi belle pour paſſer le Shanon a Melicks ou

Lansboro, tous d'eux fournis de bons quays au report de ceux qu'y avoient vescu toute leur vie, qu'on ne pouvoit pas la negliger a mon opinion qu'en f'attirant bien du blame, en cas que le paſſage ne reuſſit pas a ſouhait de la maniere qu'on le proposoit, par la ville ou au deſſus d'elle.

Que je m'offrois d'entreprendre le dit paſſage par les troupes d'Inch-killing et de Derg, (a caufe de la viteſſe de ces corps pour une prompte expedition) marchant a la legere fans autre bagage que pour quatre jours de pain et de fourrage, laiffans leurs tentes, hardes, femmes, et enfants, dont ces troupes avoient grand nombre, pour ſuivre avec l'armee.

Qu'on pourroit faire ſuivre cette teſte, par autant de cavallerie et des dragons qu'on jugeroit apropos, le ſpace de ſept a huit heures de tems apres la marche des premieres, et de toute l'armee dans le tems de vingt-quatre heures, tant afin de ſouftenir cette teſte qu'a fin que les ennemis, auquelſ le pais et le quays eſtoient par tout connus, n'euffent pas le tems de couper entre deux.

Que pour eſſectuer le dit deſſein, il faudroit, fans perdre tems, fortifier nôtre coſte d'Athlone, pour affurer la garniſon avec l'artillerie et gros bagage, qu'on jugeroit apropos d'y laiſſer, pour n'en eſtre pas embaraſſe a la marche.

Qu'il faudroit faire ce deſtachement vers le foir, fans que pas un des officiers ſeuſſent pour quel deſſein, que le commandant-en-chef; ne fe chargeant d'aucun train que quelques pieces de campagne, avec quelques legeres charetes-d'outils, pour remuer la terre, et des chevaux de frise.

Si le General trouvoit bon que ce fut du coſte de Melicks, que le meſme jour qu'on fairoit le deſtachement au foir, l'on mit quelques pieces en batterie pour battre le retranchement des ennemis le long du bord de la riviere au deſſus de la ville, faiffant en meſme tems un deſtachement du coſte de Lansboro, quy eut ordre de faire mine de vouloir reparer le pavé que les ennemis y auroyent rompu, le tout pour deſtourner leur penſee de nôtre vray deſſein, le dit deſtachement ayant ordre de retourner vers l'heure que l'armee devoit marcher pour lui ſervir d'arriere garde.

Si le General approuvoit ce dessein qu'il fit marcher les regiments d'infanterie, au nombre de deux ou trois qu'y se trouvoient asssemblées a Connelle en attendant ses ordres, droit a Rofferea [Roscrea], pour joyndre l'armée, afin de remplacer ceux qu'il faudroit laisser en garnison a Athlone.

Que la petite garnison que les ennemis tenoient au millieu du quay [gué] de Melicks, dans une tour, n'en empêcheroit nullement le passage, parce quand mesme elle ne l'abandonneroit pas, comme il estoit a presumer a la veue de nos troupes, l'on y pourroit poster des fusiliers qu'y tireroient incessamment a leurs fenestres, et les empêcheroyent de tirer sur les passans.

Que pour son coup d'autant plus feur, le General pourroit envoyer un certain Trenche, ministre d'une paroisse tout pres de quay [gué], personne fort fidelle a l'intereft, qu'y fourniffoit souvent quelque intelligence de ce cofté-la, lequel moyenant une escorte, et vingt-quatre heures d'avertifement, l'obligea de rapporter exacte intelligence du nombre des troupes que les ennemis auroyent de ce cofté-la, et comment posté.

Qu'il pourroit arryver que sur le bruit de ce passage, si peu attandu des ennemis, la garnison du fort au bout du pont de Banaker n'estant qu'en meschant estat, l'abandonneroit, ou que l'occasion se presenta de l'emporter d'emblée, mais qu'au pis aller, ce détachement se mettroit tellement a couvert en six heures de temps que d'affurer le passage a l'armée.

Que le dit passage estant heureusement reusly, il est incontestable que les ennemis seroit obligés de se retirer d'apres d'Athlone, ou ils n'avoient des vivres que du jour au lendemain, parceque la voieture leur manquoit, si bien qu'il leur falloit faire des frequents détachements de leur cavallerie, pour en porter a cheval de Portunay (d'où le dit passage couperoit leur communication) au camp, et que par le mesme manquement de vivres, ils ne pourroient pas passer la riviere pour nous couper les nostres, si ce n'est que le meschant estat de Molingar ne leur en fit concevoir la pensée ; mais il est vray semblable, qu'ils ne feroient pas ce mouvement la de peur que nous ne les coupassions du Shanon ; si bien qu'ils n'auroyent pas de meilleur party a prendre que de l'aller poster entre Gallvay et Limerick,

d'ou ils tiroient leur subsistance, s'ils ne vouloient hafarder la bataille. Et si d'autre costé l'on fut pluſtôt d'avis de tenter le paſſage a Lansboro, l'on pourroit donner de la jalouſie vers Rachera et Banaker; ce paſſage couvriroit Molingar, et nous assureroit nos vivres, parcequ'a Lansboro nous en ferions plus proches qu'a Athlone; outre qu'il feroit impossible aux ennemis de venir avec le gros de leurs troupes pour fe poſter avantageuſement pres de Lansboro, (dont ce pais fourni generallement grande comodité a un ennemy qui fe met ſur la deſſenſive), pour nous empêcher ayant paſſé la riviere, la marche vers Athlone, d'autant que par ce mouvement, ils fe eloigniroient de feize a dix-huit milles d'avantage de leur ſubſtance.

Je reprefentay, comme je dis deſſus, toutes ces chofes au General teſte a teſte, et m'offris pour en eſtre l'executeur; mais, comme il ne pouvoit pas gouter le deſſein de Lansboro, quoy qu'il me ſemblaſt le plus raifonnable de tous, parceque j'en viens de dire, et qu'il luy fut impossible d'affurer l'armée de douze jours de pain, qu'il faloit avoir avec pour faire l'autre marche, et la ſubſifter jufqu'a ce qu'on eut eſtably la communication avec nos magazins par la priſe d'Athlone, (laquelle, apres l'arryve de l'armée devant cette place de l'autre costé, ne nous couſteroit pas deux fois vingt-quatre heures), toutes ces propositions furent rejetées. Par la nous voyons visiblement, comme on avoit negligé ce ſoin tant neceſſaire, non feullement d'avoir des magazins bien fournis, en divers endroits, ſelon le plan que le General fe feroit d'en former par avance de la campagne, mais auſſy d'avoir fait l'amas des vivres neceſſaires dans l'unique magafin qu'on avoit de ce coſté-la, et m'imagine facilement que Monſieur de Ghinckle l'en eſtoit promis toute autre chofe; mais comme ce grand deſtaile d'une armée, avec toute fa deſpendance, luy eſtoient une chofe nouvelle, il fe deſchargea volontiers du ſoin des vivres fur le Pereras, qu'il feavoit en avoir eue une longue pratique; et ceux-cy, trouvans qu'ils avoyent fait un accord tres avantageuſe pour eux avec le Roy, a ſcavoir qu'il auroit feullement beſoin de faire tel amas de bled et des farines, et en tels lieux que le General leur ordonneroit, le Roy eſtant

obligé de fournir la voieture de-la a l'armée, comme aussi de payer le pain quy feroit gafté, estoient bien ayfes de ne pas recevoir des ordres precis, feachant que leur accord les tireroit toujours d'affaire ; par laquelle conduitte, ces gens ont profité extremement du service du Roy, sans quasy rien risquer, ce quy me fait croire que Monsieur de Ghinckle estoit persuadé que les choses se trouvoient mieux dispoſées, c'est que je l'avois entendu fe vanter que de quelque costé du royaume qu'il tourneroit la teste, l'armée ne puſt manquer d'un jour de pain pendant la campagne, quoy que nous en experimentassions bientoſt le contraire.

Cependant, dans l'irresolution de ce qu'on devoit entreprendre, l'on ne laissa pas de battre toujours le costé des ennemis de la ville de toute la grosse artillerie, comme de reparer le pont de la maniere que je touche deſſus, de proposer le moyen de jeter un autre pont des pontons au-deſſus de celuy de pierre, et en mesme temps de travaillier, quoy que foiblement à metre nostre costé de la ville en deſſance, comme ſi Dieu avoit degouté ceux quy en avoyent le foin pour toute autre chose et entreprife, que celle par laquelle il avoit determiné de nous rendre les maîtres du Shanon. Le General ſouhaitta qu'on mit le projet de l'attaque et paſſage par la ville par eſcrit, dont Monsieur de Tetau et moy en fit chacun un ; qu'on ne pouvoit pourtant tout obſerver, parceque nous fusmes reduits au ſeul paſſage du quay. A la fin, au lieu des quatre endroits que nous nous proposions quand on commandoit de proposer cette attaque, il fut aussiſy refolu qu'elle feroit commandée par deux généraux-majors, et pour éloigner toutes matières de diſpute, que ce feroit par celluy quy fe troueroit de jour au poſte, et celluy quy fe ſuivroit ou devroit relever, ce quy fut arreſté entre les généraux-majors quelques jours auparavant, en cas que cette attaque ce fit. Cependant Monsieur de Ghinckle, par fon zelle pour le ſervice et le regard de la réputation, ne feachant a quel avis deſſera, fe trouva dans la plus grande inquiétude du monde. Comme en paſſant je puis témoigner en fincérité que je n'ay jamais fait une campagne quy me fourniſt tant de chagrin que celle-la, voyant un affaire dont humainement dependoit le bonheur ou malheur de l'Europe, et ſurtout du pro-

teftantifme, maniée d'une maniere si peu convenable a l'importance de l'affaire ; car, entre nous, la pluralité et non pas la substance des avis l'emportoit en ces affaires crouftilleuses, dont le General, par les raisons cy-deffus touchées, n'avoit pas tout les eclairissement neceffaire, ce quy faisoit qu'il aymoit mieux arrester par collection des avis que par choife, croyant par la de pouvoir mieux repondre de l'evenement, quoy que les princes esclairés examinent par les vrayes maximes de la guerre (au moins le doit en toujours faire) plufot que par le regard des personnes quy aviffent, n'y de l'inegalité du nombre pour le pour, et pour le contre ; outre qu'un general quy n'agit que par collection des voix ne peut jamais se proposer d'arrester quelque chose dont on nait le vent dans l'armée, et par conseqvant dans celle des ennemis, f'il luy arrive d'avoir a faire a un general entendu au metier, et quy n'espargne point fa bourse pour avoir l'avis neceffaire des mesures de son ennemy, mesme quant tous ceux quy entrent au conseil fuffent fort fidelles au service de leur maistre commun ; parcequ'il ne se trouvent que rarement un nombre des gens si secrets qu'il ne s'en trouvent quy communiquent ce qu'ils savaient a quelques amis, quand celle ne seroit que pour en scavoir leur jugement, si bien qu'aux affaires intricats de la guerre, dont le General d'armée voulut l'esclaircir du sentiment des officiers experimentés de son armée. J'estime la methode de ceux quy ne laiffent pas d'effemblir leur officers pour leur communiquer ce qu'ils savaient de l'estat des ennemis leur faissant la deffus quantité des questions par voye d'interrogative, et leur permettant d'en faire marquant ce qu'ils trouvent peser, toutes fois fans former leur resolution deffinitive, en plain conseil, afin quelle ne soit esventée, la secrefesse etant si neceffaire quand les armées font a peu pres de mesme force, que fans elle on se trouve toujours prevenu.

Enfin, toute l'Irelande protestante estoit tellement apprehensive du succés de cette entreprize, que la ville de Dublin ne se croyoit plus en feureté, si bien que le gouvernement donna ordre de baricader toutes les avenus ce que je leur avois proposé d'abord, que je sceu que nous n'avions pas des troupes pour former un camp-volant, quy couvrit le

paix de l'obeyffance de leurs Majesté ; mais alors ils n'y voulurent point entendre.

Enfin, apres beaucoup des conceils sans rien pouvoir arrester diffinitivement, je vins un soir fort tard trouver Monsieur de Ghinckle, et le priay de s'onger aux defordres qu'un affront pourroit causer aux affaires du Roy, non seulement dans ses trois royaumes, mais aussi chez les estrangers, luy proposant d'ereschef de tenter le passage aillieurs, sans qu'il fust necessaire de bouger de la, qu'il ne fut averty, qu'on l'auroit franchy, le priant de m'en charger, ne doutant pas pourveu que les quays [gués] fussent tels que les luy representois, d'un heureux succes et effectivement. Je crus l'avoir laisſé bien perfuadé de mon sentiment, m'ayant promis qu'il furprendroit tout le monde de ce dessein etant d'avis d'en rien communiquer au conseil de guerre ; mais en faisant semblant de poursuivre le dessein, dont la plus part des generaux estoient ententes, faire ce desattachement quand on n'y penseroit pas, si bien que j'estois surpris le lendemain au matin lorsque pensant le trouver logé ou je l'avois laisſé la nuit precedante, on m'avertit qu'on avoit fait les desattachements de toute l'armée pour l'attaque, le monde se trouvant sur le lieu ; et Monsieur de Ghinckle agité tant de ses propres apprehentions, que des avis differents de ceux qu'il consultoit, demeurant encore irresolu de ce qu'il devoit faire, l'on le vint avertir que les ennemis avoyoient mis le feu a l'arche rompue de leur pont de pierre, quy estoit au bout du dit pont, sur laquelle l'on avoit passé le gros bois ou falivos, si bien qu'il ne faloit que poser les planches, ce qu'on ne pouvoit faire qu'a mesme tems qu'on commanderoit l'affaut par le guay, cette avis mit fin a l'affaire pour ce jour la, et l'on renvoya les desattachements, avec ordre de se tenir prefts les mesmes officiers et monde, ou l'on remarqua la tristesse peinte aux visages des foldats, n'augurans rien de bon de ce changement de conceil, quoy que la direction celeste fust visiblement veue en cet accident, quy parroissoit casuel aux yeux de ceux quy ne montent de leurs penſées plus haut que la terre ; car ce jour la, les ennemis voyans de leur camp qu'on faisoit defiler des troupes vers la ville, non pas a l'heure ordinaire d'y relever les regiments quy se trouvoient de garde,

mais le matin, remplirent la ville des bonnes troupes, de forte qu'ils se trouvoient en bon estat de nous recevoir, au lieu que voyant qu'on ne les avoit pas attaqués ce jour la, jugeans comme il estoit vray que c'eftoit, parcequ'ils nous avoyent rendu le pont impassable, ils conclurent que c'en estoit fait, et ne l'attendoyoint plus a une attaque par cette endroite, y ayant fait relever la garde ce foir la par trois de leurs plus mechants battaillions, comme on le fceut le lendemain par le General-Major Maxuel, qu'on prit prisonnier, et commandoit en chef dans la place lorsqu'on l'attaqua, Monsieur de Tessé etant allé faire un tour au camp ; aussy leurs soldats reprochoient toute la nuit suivante, qu'ils n'avoient pas osé gaigner la guinea par teste que Monsieur de Ghinckle proposoit aux huit cents grenadiers qu'y devoyoient donner les premiers cette nuit. Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg, ayant deviné ce qu'y, par l'imprudence des ennemis et notre bonheur, arriva, pressa le General de reprendre le mesme deffsein le lendemain, quoy qu'il n'y eut point d'autre passage que le feul guay dans l'esperance de surprendre les ennemis, et pour leur en cascher d'autant mieux la connoissance l'on deslibera de faire defiler les deffachemens a l'heure ordinaire de relever les postes, et autant hors leur veue qu'on pouvoit, defendant, en mesme temps, que personne se mit sur les hauteurs voisines, dont les ennemis pussent conjecturer quelque nouveauté.

Le jour precedent, le General-Major Talmash etant de garde a la ville, c'auroit esté a luy de commander les sujets du Roy a la droite de l'attaque, comme a Monsieur Tetau les estrangers a la gauche, parceque c'etoit a luy de relever Talmash ; mais le dit Talmash, sortant de tour ce foir la, c'eftoit a moy de prendre la droitte, felon que nous fumes convenus ensemble, fi bien qu'apres disner, je fus recevoir les ordres de Monsieur de Ghinckle, lequel me respondit que Talmash devoit continuer ce poste, suivant qu'il en avoit ordonné la nuit d'auparavant, que les mesmes officiers et soldats se tinssent prêts ; je luy respondis que cette ordre ne me regardoit pas, parcequel' attaque se devoit faire a mon tour, que je ne soufrirois pas qu'on la fist pour moy, ajoutant que bien que

mon jugement, ne pouvoit pas l'approuver que je ne laissois pas moyenant l'affistance de Dieu de l'avancer, autant qu'il me feroit possible, me doutant bien que les entestés de ce dessein ne luy eussent inspiré la pensée de prendre ce pretexte pour y employer un autre que moy, parceque je m'y opposois. Il me repliqua, qu'il en feroit fort satisfait, mais que les autres officiers pretendroient le mesme raison, parceque c'estoit une chose continue entre les generaux-majors de son aveu, si bien que nous ne reconnoissons point d'autre ordre au contraire, et que ce desfachement estant pourvu d'un double nombre d'officiers, toute l'armée n'en pouvoit pas affés fournir pour les relever. Il me pria donc d'aller trouver Talmash, au moins pour l'en avertir, ce que je luy consentis, lequel me respondit que puis que je le voulois ainsy, que je luy permisse d'estre mon volontaire ; a quoy je repliquay, que c'estoit affés d'engager en cette affaire la moitie des generaux de l'infanterie, et qu'il se faloit mesnager pour d'autres occasions, ou il y en auroit besoin, aussy bien que la. Ayant donné ordre pour faire defiler le monde, je me transportay a poste pour les y attendre et faire rentrer, felon qu'ils devoient marcher au guay ; mais comme je trouvois que les officiers ne faisoient pas toute la diligence que je voulois bien pour les rentrer de la mesme maniere que le jour precedent, comme je leur avois recommandé, et que j'apprhendois que Monsieur de Tetau n'eust plufoit fait, a cause qu'il scavoit des le jour d'aujourd'hui d'affligner a chacun son poste ; ayant fait le mesme maniere, alors je commence a faire defiler les grenadiers, les faisant suivre des autres le mieux que je pouvois, apres leur avoit recommandé de ferrer les rangs dans l'eau jusqu'au bout de l'épée, qu'ils ne tiraient qu'a bout portant, et que ceux quy n'avoient point d'épée ou bayonnette, apres avoir tires leurs coups de se servir de la crosse de leurs mousquets, leur representans, en mesme tems, l'importance de se porter vaillement a cette action, dont tous le succés dependoit d'une premier vigeur ; sechans bien que si nous ne l'emportions d'abord que c'en estoit fait, nous fîmes donc de costé et d'autre par deux chemins defiler la teste de nos desfachements jusqu'au bord de la riviere, en attendant le signal quy fut le son d'une petite cloche de l'église, que y avoit

reftée, failant bien ferrer les foldats pour qu'il eust aucune distane ou intervalle, afin qu'on eut le plus qu'il se pust de monde a la main en montant la breche. Cepandant, l'on avoit préparés quantité des echaffaux eslevés contre les mourailles, quy se trouvoient encore de bout dans la ville, quy descouvrissent dans les postes ennemis pour les empêcher de tirer a leur aise sur les paffans; pointans, en mesme tems, tout nostre canon grand et petit le plus avantageusement qu'on pust pour le mesme fujet, le signal fusdit étant donné, les grenadiers se jettent dans l'eau, menés de mon costé d'un certain Colonel Gustave Hamilton, devancé d'un deftachement de trente, et un autre de cinquante grenadiers; apres lui suivit le Prince d'Hesse d'Armstfad, jeune seigneur fort honnête et brave, lequel je devois soustenir avec le reste du deftachement des fujets du Roy, comme devoit faire Monsieur de Tetau a la gauche avec les eftangers; trouvant donc les grenadiers tous defilés dans l'eau, et voyant que les suivans obſervoyent exactement mes ordres en marchant ferrés, laissant la un ayde-de-camp pour recommander aux officiers toute dilligence a me suivre avec leur monde, de peur qu'on ne negligeast quelque circonſtance et precautions quy renverſaſſent des favorables commandements, comme il arrive ſouuent a ces fortes d'actions, ſurtout quand les officiers ne font pas fort experimentés, je me mis dans la riviere, prenant la droitte de mon deftachement pour n'en eſtre pas empêché, ayant cinque a fix officiers reformés et aide-de-camp avec moy; l'eau, quy eſtoit fort rapide et playne des groffes pierres, me venant jusqu'a la ceinture. Au pied de la breche je rencontray le General-Major Maxuel, que les premiers entrés venoient de faire prisonnier; et quoy que la breche, étant de terre noire et maraſcageufe, fut randue fort glifflante, nos gens ne laifſerent pas de la monter bien vite, l'affliftant l'un l'autre; et comme il y eut au millieu de cette grande face vers la riviere un vieil chatteau de mourailles fort eſpaiffes, qu'on ne pouvoit pas tout-a-fait ouvrir mais feulement trouer, l'on comanda un lieutenant-colonel Anglois du regiment du Prince de Hesse, nommé Colombin, avec deux cents fusiliers, pour attaquer le dit chateau, pendant que je m'ellargirois vers la droitte du dit chateau, pour m'enparer

des rempards du fort, quand nous aurions chassées les ennemis de tout ce front quy regardoit la riviere, comme Monsieur de Tetau devoit faire de son costé jusqu'a ce que nous nous fussons joints sur le dit rempard, quy formoit la defance de la place du costé de la campagne regardant vers l'armée ennemie.

Sortant donc de la riviere, et voyans qu'un gros du monde quy avoit passé devant se pouloit par une rue quy alloit droit vers un gros bastions au millieu de la fortification ennemie, jugeant que le Colonel Hamilton et le Lieutenant-Colonel Colombin, avec leurs destachements, avoyoient suivi leur ordre, je me pouffay du costé du dit gros bastion pour m'en emparer ce quy vinst fort apropos; car les premiers des ennemis quy avoyoient fait teste a nos gens fortans du guay, les premiers ayants esté culbutés, l'espouvante se mit dans toute leur garnison, si bien que tout enfuyant a la course, fauta les rempards du costé de leur armée. Il y avoit a la gauche de ce gros bastion un petit, ou les ennemis avoyoient fait breche pour relever et porter des facines et autres choses dans la place hors la veue de notre canon, ou les plus avancés des Danois arrivant pour suivre les ennemis jusques dans la contrefcarpe, quy estoit toute ouverte sans palissades ou parapet, ce quy feroit cause que les Anglois quy ne demeurent guere volontiers, les derniers auroient sauté du rempard en bas en la poursuite des fuyards, si je ne me trouvois justement la pour les empêcher et poster a mesure qu'ils m'arrivoient a la main le long du parapet, et dans les deffances, ce que Monsieur de Tetau fist aussy de son costé d'abord qu'il arryva sur le lieu, faisant boucher d'abord la ditte breche, ne permettant pas que ceux quy fortirent par ce mouvement temeraire rentrassent que jusqu'a la nuit, faisant des reprimandes aux officiers commandans ces premiers destachements de ses gens de l'estre si inconsidérément emportés d'une maniere quy auroit pu nous causer la perte de ce que nous avions si heureusement gaigné avec si peu de perte et de résistance, si l'on ne sy estoit trouvé justement presant pour y remedier. C'est pour apprendre aux vainqueurs de ne se laisser tellement emporter de l'apparence d'un plus grand avantage qu'ils ne tachent de

l'affurer celluy qu'ils auroient deja emporté preferablement a la pourfluite d'un plus grand, et enfin d'agir partout avec du jugement, car il n'y avoit rien a gagner d'avantage que ce dont nous estoions desja les maistres, si bien qu'il ne restoit qu'a disposer le monde le long du rampart, et dans les deffances, en cas que les secours qu'y venoient aux attaques se missent en devoir de reprendre ce qu'ils venoient de perdre. Les ennemis, depuis le commencement du siege, tenoient quelques battallions derriere leur rempart hors la veue de nostre canon pour en fortifier la garnison, en cas qu'on tentast par la le passage de la riviere; et pour ce sujet, aussy bien que pour relever la garde de la place, et pour y porter les choses necessaires de toutes sortes, avoyent fait la fusditte ouverture dans la face d'un de leurs bastions, comme j'ay touché deffus. Mais deux jours avant l'attaque, l'on s'avisa de metre quelques legeres pieces de canon en batterie au deffous de la place, d'o elles pussent enfiler l'endroit ou ses batalions se tenoient de reserve, dont il leur fallut se retirer de quelques centaines de pas de la, dont nous ne remarquasmes l'utilité qu'a l'attaque, car effectivement ils ne pouvoient pas si trouver quand mesme ils en eussent la volonté asse a tems pour souffrir les leurs contre une attaque si prompte et inattendue, n'ayant point d'endroit pour y entrer que par une ouverture de deux toiffes de largeur, au lieu que f'ils avoyoient applanie une courtine, comme Messieurs de Maxuell et de Wachop souffrirent avoir conseillé, et retranchée la garge des bastions de la droite et gauche de la ditte courtine, nous n'aurions pas pu maintenir cette conquete quand mesme nous l'aurions emportée, parceque nos gens fortioient de l'eau en petit nombre a la fois et en desordres; si bien que la peur causée par la surprise deffit les ennemis plustost que les efforts de nosfres, de forte que les Irois ayans une grande ouverture espadlée de costé et d'autre de deux bastions retranchés par ou ils auroient pu faire marcher un battailion de front au secours des leurs, ils nous auroient facilement chaffées et fait retourner plus vite que nous n' estoions venus, parcequ'ils nous rencontreroient en confusion, et qu'il y avoit quantité des petits retranchemens et des traverses dans la place, ou peu des gens resolus

entrés au secours des fuyards nous auroient pu arrester, et que la teste venant a l'arrester l'espouvrante se metroit naturellement aux suivans, a cause que les plus ignorans regardoient cette attaque comme une actione desesperée, impression capable d'espouvanter les meilleures troupes f'il leur arrivoit de rencontrer bonne refistance, et f'il nous avoit falu nous loger sur le bord de la riviere, nous en aurions esté infailliblement chaffés, pourveu que les ennemis fussent entreprenans, sans qu'il y eut moyen de soustenir nos logemens que par le guay, que nos propres gens, f'ils venoyent apployer nous empêcheroient ; mais Dieu, qu'y veillioit d'une maniere toute extraordinaire sur les armes de leurs Majestés, pourveut a tout.

Relation de la Bataille d'Agham, avec quelques Reflexions sur ce qui la precedoit depuis la prise d'Athlone.

CETTE place estant prise d'affaut, apres avoir faite breche suffisante et fondé le gré, par lequel il faloit aller a l'affaut, l'on ne puist pas d'abord passer la riviere pour suivre les ennemis, qui se retiroient a Ballinalloe, situe sur une petite riviere appellé Sucke, qu'on ne puist pas aussy passer que par des ponts et gués, parcequ'il faloit, premierement, faire transporter nostre magazin des vivres de Molingar a Athlone, pour de la les transporter plus facilement a l'armée, aussy nous manquant des boulets pour nos pieces de campagne.

Le General estant averti tant par ses partis, que ses espions que les ennemis f'estoient retirés a Ballinalloe, mit en delibération par quel chemin il les devoit approcher, ou les uns vouloient qu'on marchast tout droit a eux par le dit paillage Ballinalloe, disant qu'on perdroit autrement deux jours de tems en passant cette riviere a dix milles plus haut que le camp des ennemis.

A ce sentiment les autres objectoient, qu'il ne faudroit pas toujours

donner trop beau jeu aux ennemis, que ce feroit trop tanter la providance de Dieu, qu'on ne pouvoit pas faire grand estat sur les imparfaites idées du pais, qu'on puft tirer des gens qui n'estoient pas du metier, qu'allant droit aux ennemis l'une des chofes suivantes arriveroit naturellement, ou qu'il faudroit attaquer les ennemis quelque avantageux qu'ils fuffent poftés, ou fe retirer sur fes pas manque de fourrage ; eftant a prefumer qu'il n'y en puft avoir dans un campement, ou les ennemis avoyent fi long tems fejourné, fi peu de tems auparavant ; au lieu que prenant fon chemin par Montalbot dix a doufe milles plus haut fur le même riviere, l'on auroit abundance de fourrage pour n'eftre pas preffé de prendre conseil de la necessité, l'on donneroit de la jaloufie pour Galway aux ennemis qui leur feroit apparemment decamper ou faire quelqu'autre mouvement, dont paravanture l'on put rencontrer occaſſion de les combattre ; et que plus on montat la riviere, moinsy trouveroit on d'obſtacle a la paſſer, et qu'en tout cas l'on ne pouvoit pas conter les jours a la guerre fans donner par fon impatience de l'avantage a fon ennemie. La deſſus le General envoya reconnoiſtre les deux chemins, et fe declara pour le dernier, feavoir Montalbot ; mais la veille de la marche eftant averti, que pour certain les ennemis estoient descampés, il prend l'autre, et l'eſtant venu camper la premiere nuit a trois miles de Ballinafloe, pouffa jusques la pour descouvrir la verité de ce qu'on luy avoit rapporté, et trouva qu'il ni avoit point d'ennemis fur le bord de la riviere, ni pres de ce paſſage ; mais il lui fembla descourir des tentes a trois miles au deſla. Neanmoins l'on continua la marche le lendemain jusqu'a Ballinasloe. Il fut consulté ſi on devoit paſſer la riviere ce jour-la, ou camper de noſtre coſté, ou il y eut des pour et des contre ; car ſi on ne la paſſoit pas, les ennemis pourroient venir de nuit faſir les hauteurs vis-a-vis de noſtre camp, d'ou leur canon nous incommoderoit en noſtre camp, et le voisinage de leur armée de fi pres rendroit noſtre paſſage dans cette endroite doubtueux.

Ceux qui foulencoient qu'il ne falloit pas paſſer de cette nuit alleguoient qu'on auroit trop peu de jour pour paſſer, et puis reconnoiſtre jusques pres du camp ennemy, que puis qu'ils avoient occupés des hauteurs bien

pres de celles, dont nous les pouillions descouvrir le plus pres; qu'il n'estoit pas feur qu'ils n'avoient leur armée rangé derriere les dites hauteurs dans le deffein de marcher a nous d'abord, qu'ils nous veroient defiler, l'estans peut-estre eloignés expres a ce deffein du paassage; que nostre canon estoit encore bien loin et ne nous pouvoit pas servir a ce paassage, que les ennemis ayans choisi ce camp favorable au bord de la riviere, il n'estoit guere vray semblable, qu'ils en changeassent le deffein pour l'effeet qu'ils pouroient esperer de leur canon, quoy qu'avantageusement logé contre le nostre, qu'ils scavoient estre tant superieur au leur; et finalement, que nostre cavallerie deja fort fatigué patiroit fort en paissant cette nuit, a cause qu'il ni avoit point du fourrage dans le camp, et qu'il faloit tenir les chevaux au piquet fans oser envoyer loin au fourrage au dela d'un defilé. Estant si pres d'un ennemy qui sembloit nous attendre, et se trouvant faisi des postes, dont ils pouvoient decouvrir tous tels mouvements, de toutes ses representations differantes, le General resolut de camper cette nuit du costé d'ou il venoit, et le soir a l'ordre, ayant fait asssembler tous les generaux et brigadiers, l'ordre de bataille fut arresté, scavoir, qu'il y eut de chaque aile d'infanterie trois bataillons rengés dans les intervalles de la premiere ligne de cavallerie, et autant a la seconde ligne, mais rangé autrement, scavoir, trois bataillons tous ensemble au milieux de chaque brigade de cette ligne. Le quartier-maistre-general devoit passer d'abord, que nos gardes se seroient pouffés sur les hauteurs pour marquer le terrain ou l'on se rangeroit dans le dit ordre a couvert de dites hauteurs; l'infanterie devoit toute passer par un pont de pierre, en cas que les ennemis nous en laissassent le loisir; autrement passer aussi bien que la cavallerie, partie par les gués, et partie par le dit pont. N'ayant pas pû trainier les pontons manque de chevaux, le canon passeroit par une gué tout pres du pont, et la cavallerie par deux autres devant leur camp.

Tout etant preparé, et chaque general et brigadier scachant son poste, et ce qu'il auroit affaire, l'on commence a defiler l'armée, des que le General ayant fait avancer des gens detachés sur les memes hauteurs qu'il avoit occupés le jour d'auparavant, eut observé autant qu'il pust la contenance des

ennemis en personne, avec le Duc de Virtemberg et les autres generaux ; mais comme le terrain se retraiſſiffoit par deux marais (dont l'on couvrit entierement l'aile gauche) a une demie mile du paſſage, le General trouvant tout paſſé, fans qu'on puſt decouvrir aucun mouvement dans le camp des ennemis, et ne fechant pas f'ils ne fe trouvoient rangés derriere des hauteurs entre nous et leur camp, pour prendre leur tems de nous attaquer quand nous avancerions au deſta des dites marais, pour nous elargir de l'autre coſté, tant fur la droite que principallement fur la gauche, ordonna a Monſieur de Seravemoer de faire avancer quelques escadrons pour fe faſſir des hauteurs de la droite, ou les ennemis avoyent a noſtre veue des petites gardes avancés, ce qu'ayant eſté executé, il f'y transportha avec tous les generaux. De la il pouvoit decouvrir tout leur camp, mais comme il y avoit devant leur droite une grande eſtendue de terrain couvert d'une hauteur, dont ils eſtoient encore les maiftres, il fit de la main avancer une partie de ce qu'il avoit autour de luy pour les defloſer de la, ou bien decouvrir ce qui fe trouvoit poſté derriere ; mais comme il ni avoit pas grand choſe l'on f'en rendit maiftre, et de la l'on put voir que le deſſein des ennemis eſtoit de fe fervir de l'avantage de leur poſte de pied ferme. Le General ayant tout decouvert et consulté du terrain le plus propre, felon la diſpoſition du camp ennemy pour un campeſment ou champ de bataille, felon que l'occalion f'en prefenteroit, donna ordre pour avancer les troupes, pendant que les quartiers generaux marqueroit ſon terrain a chaque corps ; et voyant d'une hauteur, ou il fe tenoit a cheval, que les ennemis faifſoient mine de farreter dans des jardimayes, pres desquels les troupes de noſtre aile gauche devoient camper, et loin d'une groſſe mile de l'aile droite des ennemis, dont ce poſte fut detaché, commanda les dragons de Cunningham, ſouſtenue de quelque cavallerie Danoife, de les en aller chaffer, ou il arriva quelque eſcarmouche les ennemis faifant d'autres detachements a la file de leur armée, rangée a la teſte de leur camp pour les ſouſtenir, ce que le General observant, il fit avancer le regiment d'Eppinger, et puis voiant les ennemis l'avancer en plus grand nombre, le fit suivre de toutes les troupes de la

gauche qui devoient se ranger sur ce terrain ; l'escarmouche s'efchauffant de plus en plus, l'on crut remarquer quelques mouvements au camp ennemi, comme s'ils retroient des troupes, furtout de la cavallerie de leur aifle gauche pour fortifier leur droite, ce qui donna sujet au General Major Mackay de dire au General, qu'on avoit souvent veu des plus petits commencements attirer une bataille, luy proposant, en mene tems, si son excellence ne jugeroit pas apropos, puisque sa droite sembloit estre couverte d'un marais, de retirer une partie de sa cavallerie de la pour fortifier sa gauche, ou le terrain entre les deux armées sembloit plus ouvert et propre pour la cavallerie ; ajoutant que pour empêcher que les ennemis ne se servissent de toute leur cavallerie a leur droite, si elle ne trouveroit pas bon qu'on fist descendre quelques bataillons de nostre droite vers le marais, qui la separeroit de la gauche des ennemis pour en chasser quelques gardes qu'ils avoient avancés vers l'entré du dit marais de nostre costé, et en mene tems reconnoître si tout ce qui nous sembloit a cette distance inaccessible estoit effectivement tel. Le General luy commanda de l'y transporter avec les Generaux-Majors de Ruvignie et Talmash, et de l'y gouverner selon qu'il le jugeroit apropos sur le lieu, et que le terrain l'y trouveroit dispolé. Suivant le quel ordre, il fist descendre du terrain, ou ils s'alloient camper quelques bataillons de la premiere ligne de l'aifle droite ; et les ennemis, sur ce mouvement, estans retirés vers un chateau qui couroit la gauche de l'armée ennemi, ayant visité le terrain, et trouvant de l'espace pour y ranger environ quatre bataillons de front, les fit avancer sous le canon des ennemis, rengeant, en mene tems, quelques escadrons des chevaux et dragons derriere, et donna ordre pour fonder un petit rivolet ou vaiffeau qui passoit au travers du marais sur la gauche de l'endroit qu'on avoit déjà occupé, afin que si le General ou se trouvoit engagé au combat par l'escarmouche déjà commencé a nostre gauche, ou par avantage jugeroit apropos d'attaquer les ennemis dans leur poste, que nostre droite pult attaquer leur gauche d'un plus grand front, on fit aussi avancer de ce costé-la douse pieces de campagne pour tirer a trois, dont les ennemis nous incommodoient de la hauteur, comme

auffy a des escadrons et bataillons qu'on voyoit rangés sur les dites hauteurs, et derriere des troupes avancées qu'ils avoient logés tout le long du bas des hauteurs, et sur le bord du marais, depuis le chateau jusqu'a nostre gauche dans des hayes, leſquelles fe trouvoient encore couvertes d'un fossé d'eau et bourbier, ou de l'infanterie avoit de la payne a passer. Ces chofes fe trouvant ainfy disposées, le General-Major Mackay l'en contenta jusqu'a autre ordre, ne voiant pas avancer la gauche qui hormis les troupes escarmouchantes fe trouvoient encore a une mile distante de la droite des ennemis. La deſſus le General-Major Talmash, qui commandoit la feconde brigade d'infanterie a la droite, dit qu'il falloit des l'inſtant attaquer la gauche des ennemis; auquel Mackay, qui commandoit la en chef, répondit, qu'outre l'avantage du poste ennemi, couvert premierement d'un fossé, ou eſtang regnant tout le long de leur front, derriere lequell des hayes, au bas de leurs hauteurs bien bordés de mousquetterie détaché, et derriere tout cela leurs bataillons, et esquadrons rangés en bataille preſts a repouſſer ceux qui auroient le bonheur de furmonter les premières difficultés que nostre gauche estoit encore ſi loin de la droite des ennemis, qu'ils pourroient employer la plus grande part de leurs forces contre nous, et apres nous avoir repouſſes l'en ſervir aſſez a tems contre les troupes de nostre gauche, avant qu'ils puſſent eſtre a portée de leur droite, Talmash fe tournant vers le Marquis de Ruvignie luy demanda ſi on ne devoit pas attaquer, lequel répond, qu'il estoit la a l'ordre du General-Major Mackay, et prêt a marcher quand il le luy commanderoit, Monsieur Talmash l'echauffant la deſſus, dit qu'il estoit de la feconde ligne, et qu'il l'en alloit a ſon poste ſi on ne vouloit pas attaquer les ennemis, ajoutant, que puifque le General l'en eſtoit remis a Monsieur Mackay, il n'en deut pas faire tant de difficulté; tant pis luy répondit Mackay, puifque je le juge ſi mal apropos que le moindre eſclairé au metier le condamnera, mais pour vous ſatisfaire, ajouta-t-il, j'envoyeray au General pour lui faire la description du poste ennemy et mon juge-ment, l'il a deſſein d'attaquer leur armée, que ce foit fans perdre de tems, et partout, en même tems, ce qu'aient fait, le General aſſurement

empeché a la gauche lui fit dire, par l'aide de camp de Monsieur de Ruvignie, qu'il en agist felon son jugement; lequel lui aiant envoyé d'ereschef le General vient lui même, et aiant entendu ses raisonnemens il fut conclu que son excelléance fairoit sans delaye, estant déjà pres de cinque heures du foir, avancer la gauche, et quand Monsieur de Mackay la jugeroit aussy pres des ennemis que la droite, il feroit attaquer de son costé toutes les hayes ou les ennemis se trouvoient logés, agissant ensuite felon que luy et les autres officiers generaux trouveroient la commodité du terrain, qu'ils ne pouvoient pas encore juger de si pres. Cependant, comme il est dit dessus l'on fit fonder le marais pour pouvoir passer quatre a cinque regiments a gauche des quatre qu'on destinoit contre le chateau et les hayes, qui s'y trouvoient a droite et a gauche en attendant que nostre gauche fut a portée; faisant cependant reposer les troupes, et trouvant vers les sept heures les nostres de la gauche avancés a telle distance qu'il le jugeroit tems de faire mouvoir de son costé, il commanda aux regiments des Colonels Earle, Bruer, Herbert et Crighton de passer le marais a l'endroit qu'il avoit peu auparavant fait reconnoître, et sur la gauche, avec ordre expes et bien expliqué de l'arrester aux hayes au fortir du marais apres qu'ils s'en seroient rendus maistres jusqu'a son ordre, ou qu'ils vissent gaigner sur les ennemis vers leur droite, et quelques escadrons passer les defilés, et marcha luy-même avec le regiment de Kirck, Gustavus Hamilton, chassant les ennemis des premieres et secondes hayes devant, aussy bien qu'a droit et gauche du chateau, ou il les fit arrester, cherchant, en memo tems, passage pour la cavallerie, que Monsieur de Ruvignie fit avancer derriere l'infanterie. Dans ce tems-ci les regiments sus nommés qui avoient ordre de l'arrester de memo aux hayes sur la gauche, oublians leur ordre en aiant chassés les ennemis, les poursuivirent au defla des hayes, ou les ennemis les prenant de front, aussy bien qu'en flanc par plusieurs escadrons et bataillons qui les renverserent, aussy bien que la seconde brigade de la droite, que le Prince de Hesse tira de son poste par je ne scay pas quel ordre, les faisant passer le marais encore plus vers nostre gauche, si bien que si les quatre regiments

qu'on avoit postés a l'entour du chateau n'avoient pas tenue fermes nostre droite felon toutes les apparences humaines auroit esté defaite, et confequemment la bataille perdue, parcequ'a la veue de ce desordre plufieurs regiments de nostre aifle gauche commenceroent a ploier. Le General-Major Mackay ayant remarqué le meschant estat des affaires la, crut que fil pouvoit faire passer quelques escadrons de cavallerie, il y auroit encore esperance, pria instemment les officiers qui se trouvoient a la tete des premiers de passer le mieux qu'ils pouroient pour flancer ces ennemis qui repouffloit nostre infanterie, la menant battant jusques dans le marais, leur representant l'intereſt de la religion, l'honneur, et la liberté des Anglois, et enfin tout ce qu'il crut les y devoir pouſſer, trouvant qu'a cause de la difficulté du paſſage, et la veue des troupes déjà defaite, la cavallerie au commencement feſtloit un peu eſtoné ; mais non pas toute égallement, car le regiment d'Oxford fraiant le chemin paſſa premièrement puis ceux de Vilars et de Levifon avec lequel il se trouva, que le Marquis de Ruvignie paſſant fut d'abord engagé par les escadrons ennemis qui avoient repouſſé nostre infanterie, lesquels aussi bien que leur infanterie l'arreſtans tout court a la veue du paſſage de nostre cavallerie, craignant d'en eſtre flanqué, la vinrent attaquer avant quelle fut encore bien formée de l'autre coſté du defilé, et repouſſerent les premiers paſſés ; mais comme on en faisoit sans cefte paſſer a la filé, il y eut a la main pour les ſouftenir. Cependant Monsieur de Mackay, aprehendant que les ennemis ne leur tombaffent trop fort fur les bras, commanda a un certain lieutenant-colonel de paſſer avec fon escadron plus pres de chateau, ou il n'y avoit plus de feu a effuier que la ou il en faisoit paſſer les autres. Le defilé eſtant hors du coup de tout le feu de chateau, de la baffe court, et de jardinage, lequel luy répondit, l'il vouloit qu'il paſſat par la qu'il lui montrat le chemin. Monsieur, dit le dit Monsieur de Mackay, vous vous meprenéz fort, car vous ne feaurez ignorer jusques icy, que j'ay le foin general de toute cette attaque, en forte que je ne puis pas me trouver a la tete de chaque bataillon et escadron ; mais pour vous faire voir que j'ose montrer le chemin, partout ou je commande des troupes, (ſe pouſſant

a la teste de l'escadron,) dit, suivez moy donc ; et voulant sauter le fossé, ou estang fusdit qui n'estoit pas fort large, son cheval l'embourba du costé des ennemis, et l'escadron se retirant sans l'arrester pour favoriser sa retraite, le laissa seul avec son esquier, qui le remontant, il sauta le fossé du costé de ses gens sans estre touché d'une grele de mousquetades que cette accident a cinquante pas du chateau lui attira. Les ennemis l'ayant reconnu pour un officier de commandement, de la il se transporta au premier defilé et passant à la teste de Woufly, rencontra justement un escadron ennemy à la monté de la hauteur où les ennemis avoient au commencement de la bataille défait nostre infanterie, qui pouffoit de nostre cavallerie à toute bride, il dit à Woufly de marcher au pas et ferré et de defendre à ses cavalliers de donner du feu ; mais d'attaquer cette ennemy l'espée à la main, crainte de se metre en confusioñ, ce que les ennemis ayant aperçeu tournerent teste tout court. Il loua la froideur et fermeté de Woufly en cette endroit, et ayant fait signe au corps que les ennemis menoient battant de se rallier derrière Woufly, il l'avanza vers la hauteur du camp ennemy, avec trois à quatre escadrons qu'il eut autour de lui. Monsieur de Ruvignie avec deux à trois des premières passes étant un peu plus avancé, il ne faut pas oublier qu'au premier passage de nostre cavallerie, qui arresta les troupes ennemis qui poursuivoient nostre infanterie jusques dans le marais, celle-ci ne se trouvant plus poussé se rallie au milieu de dit marais, et vint reprendre son poste d'où elle estoit chassée, et puis trouvant les ennemis repoussés par nostre cavallerie, gaigna les hauteurs avec elle, comme aussi firent les régiments de Bellasis et de Lord George Hamilton, ou le dit brigadier et Lord se trouvoient à la teste. Cependant ceux de Kirck et de Gustavus Hamilton qui se trouverent engagés plus vers la droite, ayant tout le temps de ce costé la couvert la cavallerie, (car ils furent postés à la droite de tous à cause des marais), ayant rencontré des murailles d'un jardin, ne pouvoient faire que maintenir leur poste en faisant feu continué sur les ennemis du chateau, qui nous servit de bon usage au passage de la cavallerie, parce que leur feu tenoit les ennemis si courts que non obstant leur grand feu,

ils ne nous tuerent pas grande nombre a cette endroit ; mais les ennemis qui furent poslé dans, et a lenthour du chateau ne se voyans plus en teste que le dits deux corps fortirent de leur poste pour les pousser, et effectivement les auroient mal menés, si Monfieur de Schravemoer, qui avoit encore autour de luy quelques escadrons de cavallerie et dragons frais, n'en eut envoyé a leur secours, dont les ennemis furent renverfés la, et auffly le chateau pris.

Pendant que ces choses se passoient de la maniere fusdite a la droite, le General, qui se trouvoit a la gauche avec le Duc de Virtemberg, et les Generaux-Majors Tetau, Laforest, et Holtzapfel, a cause que la plus grande force de l'armée, furtout en cavallerie, fut arresté ou jetté de ce costé la par les raisons fusdites, voyant que les commencements de cette action ne lui promettoient pas de grands avantages, a cause que non feulement la plus grande partie de l'infanterie de la droite, mais auffly quelques bataillons de la gauche avoyent ployés ; ayant fait soustenir son infanterie par de la cavallerie l'en contentant, pour encore ne voulut jamais permettre que sa cavallerie poussant trop avant les ennemis, quelle avoit en teste que premierement ne fut averty, comme les affaires alloient a la droite, dont il n'avoit pas le veue, et y entendoit grand feu, de peur quelle ne fut flanqué des troupes ennemis qui avoient repoussées notre infanterie au commencement de la bataille ; si bien que quand nostre droite fut déjà avancée sur les hauteurs apres en avoir fait retirer les ennemis, les prennant toujours pour les ennemis l'arresta comme dit est, jufqu'a ce que ceux si appercevans que notre droite l'avançoit pour les prendre en flanc, commandercerent a branler, et le General estant a même instant averty de l'avantage de ses troupes a la droite, fit donner sur celle des ennemis qui se trouvoit devant lui, ce cy arrivant justement comme le General Major Mackay l'estoit avancé sur les hauteurs, d'ou aiant reconnu le defordre des ennemis partout, il l'avancea avec ce qu'il avoit autour de lui pour leur couper la retraite ; ce qui la leur fit precipiter, leur infanterie se jettant autant quelle pouvoit dans les marais, et leur cavallerie suivant le chemin de Lochreagh. Dans ce tems ci beaucoup de

nos escadrons de la gauche l'estans debandés, firent main basse sur l'infanterie des ennemis avant quelle pût gaigner les marais, et effectivement le carnage fut plus de ce costé la qu'a la droite, quoy que le gain de la bataille fut indubitablement deu a celle ci non obstant la difficulté de l'attaque de ce costé là, qui sembloit insurmountable ; mais surtout le faut il reconnoître uniquement de la bénédiction de Dieu, qui ofta le cour et l'esprit a nos ennemis, a quoi la mort de leur General, avant qu'on en fut aux mains par un heureux coup de la batterie de la droite contribua beaucoup. Le General Major Mackay se trouvant plus a portée pour la poursuite de la cavallerie ennemie que la gauche la chassa jusqu'a quatre miles du champ de bataille ; mais comme il faisoit déjà tard, estant pres de sept heures avant que le combat commença, et manquant des guides pour les bien mener dans un pais si plain des marais, il n'osoit pas debander beaucoup de sa cavallerie n'en ayant avec lui que peu d'escadrons au commencement de la poursuite, quoy qu'elle grossissoit a mesure qu'on avançoit. Le lendemain le General fit venir tout le bagage de l'armée, et campa a une mile du champ du bataille sur le chemin de Lochreagh, ou il resta trois jours pour faire occuper les chateaux et paßsages de Banaker, et Presumay [Portunna] les ennemis ayant quitté le dernier, et rendu l'autre au destachement qu'on y envoya, et pour attendre un convoye de quelques jours de vivres.

De ce dernier camp aiant envoyé reconnoître Lochreagh, et apris que les desbris des troupes ennemis avoient pris le chemin de Limerick, l'on marcha vers la dite villette sans avoir encore fixé aucune resolution, et de la le lendemain a Athenicée [Athenry], a sept mile de Galway, et sur le grand chemin d'Athlone à la dite place, ou il y avoit beaucoup de fourrage. Le soir, il fut conclu qu'on laisseroit la cavallerie campé pres d'Athlone, et qu'on marcheroit a Galway avec l'infanterie et dous escadrons de cavallerie et dragons feulement ; mais un certain officier general, qui ne se trouvoit pas presant a ce conseil, aiant demandé au General l'estat des vivres, il respondit qu'il n'y en avoit que pour quatre jours a l'armée ; l'autre demanda, et l'il arrivoit que la place ne se rend pas, comme on

vous fait esperer, et que les ennemis vous feachant engagé au siege, vinfent avec tout ce qu'ils pourroient assembler vous couper vos vivres, qu'il faut fuppofer beaucoup superieurs au corps de cavallerie que vous laiflès a Schravemoer n'iant guere perdue de la leur, ne vous faudroit il pas lever le siege pour venir au devant de vos vivres, afin de ne pas crever vos troupes de faim, et en tout cas que gaignerez vous, puisqu'il faut avoir votre groffe artillerie, qu'il faut attendre, auffy bien que le pain d'Athlone, avant que vous puilliez preffer le siege de Galway ? Cela fit refoudre, au General la marche aiant esté ordonné pour les cinque heurs du matin, de faire assembler les generaux derechef a quatre heurs pour metre l'affaire qui sembloit de la derniere importance encore en desliberation ; mais quoy qu'on pût alleguer au contraire l'avis de marcher devant Galway fut fuyy, dont on se repentit avant qu'il fut dix heures du foir, sur l'avis que le General eut de la ville, qu'il y avoit dix-huit regimens de dans, lefquells, quoy qu'on les crût fort affoiblis par la bataille, pour la pluspart l'on jugea toutes fois trop contre dix milles fantassins que nous nous jugions alors forts, la deffus comme l'on se blama l'un l'autre pour avoir precipité cette marche, la providance de Dieu nous esclairoit de la verité par un capitain qui se vint randre d'une ouvrage qui estoit sur une hauteur a la portée du mousquet de la place, dont elle est aucunnement commandée, de ce costé la, lequell nous assura qu'il n'y avoit que 1500 hommes armés dans la place ; mais qu'ils attendoient qu'un certain Colonel O'Donel leur meneroit du secours par

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LETTRES OU DEPECHES ECRITES PAR MON-
SIEUR HUGH DE MACKAY, LIEUTENANT
GENERAL, A SA MAJESTE BRITANIQUE, ET
AU COMTE DE PORTLAND, LORSQU'IL COM-
MANDOIT EN CHEF LES TROUPES DE SA
DITE MAJESTE EN ECOSSE.

M.DC.XC.

LETTRES ECRITES PAR LE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DE
MACKAY, AU ROY GUILHEAUME III. ET AU MY-LORD
DE PORTLAND.

Au Roy, du 14 Janvier 1690, d'Ecosse.

SIRE,—J'espere que vostre Majesté pardonnera les fortes expressions de mes lettres a Monsieur le Comte de Portland, et par son absence tombés entre ses mains royales, étant purement l'effet de mon zeale pour son service que j'aprehendois par trop negligé icy. Selon l'ordre de votre Majesté, j'ai lui envoyé les particularités sur lesquelles je juge qu'il feroit de besoin d'avoir ses instructions marchant contre ces rebelles, avec des considerations, selon mon jugement, de la maniere que l'on l'y devroit conduire. Des difficultés qu'on y pourra rencontrer, et des moyenes pour remedier aux inconveniens qu'un mauvais succès pourroit causer a son service, comme aussi une liste des armes, munitions et autres materiaux absolument requis pour ce service, et dont nous ne pourrons pas estre pourveu icy, car d'entreprendre a demie, et sans les preparatives necessaires feroit de reculer au lieu d'avancer son service. Si vostre Majesté aprouve qu'on tente une descente par mer a Inderlochy, comme la feule maniere praticable d'entreprendre la reduction des rebelles de bonne heure felon mon jugement, je ne manqueray pas d'y apporter toute la diligence et le soin possible, esperant que Dieu m'y supportera, et

achevera d'apaifer les troubles de ce pais ingrat a tant de bien faits envoyes du ciel par l'opportune deliverance que votre Majesté lui aporta, sous son heureux gouvernement, par mes foibles bien que sinceres efforts. Sire, je me sens obligé de representer a vostre Majesté les grandes confusions de ce royaume, furtout quant a l'eglise, les ministres qu'on a preschans partout la rebellion impunement, et les autres ne scachans pas encore ou ils en font, si bien que je puis dire de ma propre connoissance que nous y avons deux ennemis au lieu d'un qu'il y en avoit quand j'y arrivay l'année paſſée, de forte qu'il n'y a que l'aprehention des troupes telles quelles font qui les tiennent en bride jusqu'icy, lesquells fans un ſuplement du Parlement ne scauront ſubfifter long tems en nombre capables de tenir le royaume en paix, et y mentenir l'autorité de vostre Majesté. L'on eſpere que beaucoup des membres du dit corp eclairſis de la verité par la publication de ſes inſtructions changeront de conduite pour la fuivante feſſion, car effectivement vostre Majesté y retablit tout d'un coup ce dont la ſubverſion a couſté des fiecles. L'eſtabliſſement d'un inoderé gouvernement d'Eglife aporteroit aparamment beaucoup de remede aux defordres, les ministres ayant beaucoup d'influence d'ordinaire ſur l'eſprit du peuple. Sire, comme je ſuis perſuadé que vostre Majesté auroit juste ſujet de me blamer ſi je lui diſſimulois mes ſentiments fur ce que je crois avoir peu remarqué de ce pais, ou j'ay paſſée tantoſt dix mois dans des embarras qui m'auroient pu aprendre quelque choſe de l'humeur de ſes habitans. L'on ne ſcauroit a mon avis remedier aux defordres d'Ecoſſe que par une armée bien payée, et capable d'eſtoner les faſtieuſ et cabalifteſ de toute forte, ou par le moyen d'un Parlement qui eſtablit fans deſlay le gouvernement tant civil que ecclæſiaſtique, lequel, avec un peu de bon ſucces contre les Montaignards, acheveroit, felon mon jugement, d'y reſtablir une paix durable, furtout pourveu que les affaires aillent bien en Irelande, comme j'eſpere que nous avons ſujet d'atendre pour la prochaine campagne, et laiſſeroit la liberté a votre Majesté d'employer ſon argent et la plus part de ſes troupes quelle y emploie plus utillement aillieurs. Prianſ affectueuſement que Dieu comble de ces plus

pretieuses benedictions la personne sacrée et le reigne de vostre Majesté, et demandant tres-humble pardon de cette liberté, je suis, de votre Majesté, &c.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, du 13 Mars 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MILORD, Dans l'attente de vostre heureux retour aupres de sa Majesté et participation d'un paquet volant qu'une commité avoit envoyé pour faire entendre a sa Majesté leurs sentiments sur des propositions que je leurs avoit fait sur le sujet de la maniere que je jugeois la plus effectuelle pour dompter les rebelles, et en même tems, selon mon jugement, restablir la paix en ce pauvre pais, pour puis apres laisser a sa Majesté la liberté d'employer ailleurs les troupes foldoyées d'Angleterre. Vous scavez, Milord, qu'avant vostre paillage en Hollande, vous m'escrivittes que le Roy avoit ordonné que se preparaist trois fregates pour le service de ce pais cy, je voudrois quelles fussent déjà ici, car j'ay peur que les Montaignards ne nous previennent en tombant sur le plat pais en plus grand nombre qu'aucun des postes vers le nord, et ne m'obligent de tourner tete de ce costé la, avant que nous puissions envoyer ces fregates sur leurs costes pour faire diversion jusqu'a ce que nous soyons prets d'y marcher avec le corps que je dessein de mener a Inderlochy felon le projet que j'ay envoyée au Roy il y a long tems, et crains que le manque d'une petite somme d'argent, dont la fusdite commité escrivit a sa Majesté ne renverse ce dessein, au moins ne le retarde trop long tems. Il est vray semblable, Milord, que si les affaires vont bien et a souhait en Irelande que cette rebellion cy tombera d'elle mesme ; mais j'espere qu'on m'accordera qu'on ne doive jamais laisser les operations de la guerre dans des differantes provinces tellement dependre les uns des autres, que de n'en pas assurer le plusftot le plus qu'on peut, pour que le vainqueur pust en tous cas accourir au secours des autres de son parti, suivant la maniere des combats particulières. Comme je marquay dans ma precedante, la

fomme qu'on demande pour faciliter ce projet ne fait guere plus d'un demi mois de gage aux troupes que le Roy foldoye ici d'Angleterre. Jugéz donc, Monsieur, combien en profiteroit sa Majesté pour le reste de la campagne, fi on lui pouvoit rendre ce pais-cy paible avant le my May, en forte qu'il n'y faudroit que peu de monde. J'ay aussi marqué qu'on ne peut tirer en feureté les quatre regimens destinés pour la service d'Irelande d'icy, qu'on n'ait entrepris ce deſſein, car les autres endroits du pais feroient trop exposés pendant l'eloignement du ſuſdit corps, car il fe fait voir beaucoup de gens ſuſpects qui fe pourvoient de cheveaux et des armes ſous main, en forte que, felon mon avis, l'on devroit prendre des meſures comme fi l'on apprehendoit un ſoulevement dans des differans quartiers tant de ce royaume que du nord d'Angleterre, ce qui fuſt cause que j'efcrivis au Roy, non feullement de ne point tirer d'icy encore des troupes qui f'y trouvent, mais aussi d'envoyer ſur les frontieres des deux royaumes quelque cavallerie et des dragons, car un peu de prevoyance previent ſouvent des maux aſſez difficults a remedier fi l'on f'en laifſoit ſurprendre a l'improvifte. Je ne doute pas que bien de gens ne fe meſſent de donner des avis a fa Majesté des affairs de ce pais-cy ; mais je ſuis perſuadé que perſonne ne lui en pourra donner des moins partiels que moy, et je laiſſe a elle de juger fi je ne puis pretendre d'entendre un peu du meſtier, dont j'ay fait fi longue profeſſion dans les plus agguerries nations de l'Europe, au moins a l'egale de tout ce quelle peut en tirer d'icy, et pour ceux qui n'y ont pas eſté, ils ne ſcauront fe repreſenter les choses au vray. Je vous prie, Milord, de reſpondre au pluſtoſt furtoutes ces particuliarietés, la faſon eſtant déjà trop avancée pour un plus long deſſlay, et de conſerver dans l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, Mi-Lord, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 9 Auril 1690.

SIRE, Comme j'aprehendois par la lenteur ſurprenante que je voyois aporter a tout ce qui regardoit la feureté de voſtre ſervice dans ce royaume,

que les rebelles ne nous previnissent et rompissent toutes nos mesures, aussy n'ay-je menqué d'en souvent avertir vostre Majesté aussy bien que des autres qui ont l'honneur d'aprocher sa personne royale, ce qu'a juger bien de mes circonstances estoit tout ce dont j'estois capable. Je trouve a presant que mes apprehentions n'estoient pas des chimeres, car ils sont déjà au camp, et Dieu scat a quelle confusion ce pais-ey se pourra reduire dans l'humeur dont ses habitans se trouvent par la pauvreté de ses finances, l'estat miserable des troupes, les divisons qui s'y voient mesme au conseil de votre Majesté, joint a l'impuissance ou je me vois d'y apporter aucun remede, n'estant pas capable d'entretenir un fort mediocre corps des troupes ensemble pour trois jours sans courir risque de m'en voir abandonné faute de quoy subsister, outre que les troupes se trouvent necessairement (si l'on ne vouloit abandonner la moitié du royaume aux rebelles) si separées qu'on ne peut pas assembler un corps bien formidable nulle part, joint qu'on ne pouvoit autrement faire subsister, menquent d'argent tantôt six mois. Milord Commisionnaire en veut tant icy a l'entour d'Edinbourg, que j'aprehende qu'il ne m'en donnera qu'un fort petit partie pour oposer aux ennemis, s'ils tournent teste vers la partie meridionale du royaume. J'espere que Levinston et Buchan feront capables de maintenir leurs postes, quoy que je ne m'en puis pas promettre, qu'ils feront tellement maistres de la campagne, que beaucoup de mal affectionés ne joignent les rebelles. Mon avis est, Sire, que vostre Majesté ordonne s'and deslay quelques uns des regimens de cavallerie qui doivent passer en Irelande de l'avancer quelques vingt miles de ce costé des frontieres, pour d'abord jeter la terreur dans toutes ses provinces mal affectionés ; ce mouvement ne les eloignera pas de leur chemin, et pourra en tout cas estre de bon effet, pour fortifier les bons, et terrifier les mauvais ; il feroit aussy tres necessaire que vostre Majesté ordonnaist le payement de nos trois regimens, sans lequel ils se differont sans aucun doute dans peu de temps, et ne feront nullement capables de service pour le presant besoin. Sire, je vous supplie tres-humblement de vouloir penser que ce pais icy tombant en desordre pourra aporter bien d'obstacle a vos glorieux

daffeins ailleurs, et avoir des facheuses influences sur l'Angleterre, c'est pourquoy l'on ne devroit plus a mon avis marchander d'eloigner du ministere quelque peu de personnes, ausquels le peuple en veut, pour pouvoir se promettre un heureux accord parmi les membres du Parlement, leurs divisions est ce seul qui encourage les rebels, et les fait assembler sitot, de peur qu'ils ne perdent l'occasion qui s'en prefante pour troubler tellement le gouvernement que la fession du Parlement soit interrompue. Mon jugement, Sire, n'est pas fort penetrant, mais je crois avoir averti des desordres que je me figure fans un prompt remede il y a cinque mois, ce qui m'a fait aussi prendre la liberte d'offrir mon avis a vostre Majesté, peut-estre plus librement qu'une personne plus soigneuse de son interest particulier et moins de service de vostre Majesté n'aura pas osé faire, pour ne pas l'exposer aux resentimens des offendés par cette liberte. Il y a quelques jours que Milord Braidalbin est sorti de ville, et je ne scaurois mesme m'empecher de suspecter qu'il n'ait donnée le branle a ce mouvement precipité de ces rebelles, ses proches voisins et bons amis, et j'ay bien remarqué que l'advocat general est des amis du dit Milord ; mais s'il est d'intrigue, je n'en scay rien, seulement j'ay apris de ne faire pas grand estat sur l'exterieur de la pluspart des Ecoffois d'aujourd'huy, comme j'ay mandé il y a peu des jours a Milord Portland. Si le quartier de west d'Ecoffes estoit contente quant au culte d'Eglise, j'aurois moins d'apprehention de tous les efforts de ces barbares. Le Duc de Hamilton demeure sur ces terres, comme aussi quelques autres des seigneurs mescontents depuis quelques jours il y a grand quantité de ceux qu'on appelle Jacobins venu d'Angleterre depuis peu, de forte que je me figure des revoltes en plusieurs endroits du royaume si l'on n'envoye promptement quelque cavallerie, comme j'ay touché dessus. Je prie Dieu de vouloir presider a toutes les deliberations de vostre Majesté, et de ceux quelle employe aux maniement de ses affaires, et de prendre sa sacree personne et la conduite de tous ses daffeins pour l'avancement de sa gloire, et souffrira de sa verité salutaire a tous croyans en sa divine protection, qui feront toufjours les prieres, Sire, de vostre Majesté, &c.

Lettre au Roy envoyée d'Edinbourg, le 23 Avril 1690.

SIRE, Comme je n'ay point d'ordre au contraire de vostre Majesté, et que je suis absolumet persuadé qu'il n'y a rien a gaigner sur les rebelles et mutins de cette nation par la douceur et clemance, mais que le veritable moyen de les ranger a la raison est qu'on les pousse vigoureusement, j'ay formées les instructions dont j'envoye cy.jointe une copie pour l'officier qui doit commander le parti que je destache avec les fregates. Milord Commissionnaire, auquel je les ay montreés, est d'opinion, par je ne scay pas quel avis, qu'on deyroit fursoir tout aëte d'hostilité pour quelque temps. Je luy ay representé que se feroit justement complimenter nos ennemis au despans du service de vostre Majesté, lesquels ne demandent mieux que de gaigner du temps, soit pour attendre l'effect des secours qu'on leur fait esperer du costé de France ou d'Irelande, soit qu'ils esperent qu'on transporterat tant des troupes en Irelande, que les ennemis de son gouvernement trouve le temps opportun pour le lui troubler d'avantage en leur faveur pendant son absance, et comme l'on me dit que cette avis se trouvent du gout de Milord Braidalbin, je le tiens d'autant plus suspeçt. Jauray fujet legitime, Sire, de me taire de tout ce cy, voyant qu'on traite avec ces gens la, (dont je connois mieux le temparement qu'aucun de ceux ausquels vostre Majesté se puise fier), fans m'en rien communiquer, dont une personne se reposant moins sur la bonne conscience, en tout ce qui releve de sa charge feroit capable de fallarmer, y trouvant fujet d'apprehender que son maistre ne se deffiat de sa conduite ; mais comme j'agis graces a Dieu par des principes bien au deffus de toute veue mondaine, rien ne scauroit tellement atieder mon zealle que de negliger la moindre circonstance que je juge devoir contribuer a l'avancement du service, ou des regards particuliers et propres a moy n'ont jamais eu de part a m'engager. C'est pourquoy, Sire, je ne me l'afferay pas tant que vostre Majesté ne me le defende de lui dire et redire ce qu'en sincérité, et comme en la presfance de Dieu, felon mon

jugement, je pense de l'estat de ses affaires dans ce pais. J'ay peur, Sire, que nos trois regimens ne tombent dans les mesmes desordres des troupes foldoyées dans ce royaume sans un prompt secours d'argent ce qui romproit bien d'avantage nos mesures. Si vostre Majesté aura trouvé bon d'ordonner quelque cavallerie sur les deux frontiers des deux royaumes, il seroit apropos quelle eut ordre de suivre les instruētions que je pourray avoir occasion de leur envoyer, et je prens la liberté de representer avec toute submision que des troupes que vostre Majesté auroit dessein de laisser en Angleterre une bonne partie en soit logée sur les dites frontieres, comme l'endroit des deux royaumes le plus dangereux. Le grand dominateur des royaumes des hommes affermisse celuy de vostre Majesté sur des colomnes inesbranlables, qui fera touſjours le fidelle souhait de celluy qui eſt, Sire, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 16 Avril 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Je vous envoye cy jointe a plus pres la fustance de ce qui se passa entre le Major Ferguson du regiment de Laudre, personne de probité et d'honneur, comme aussy fidele et affectionné au service de vostre Majesté, et les autres personnes nommées dans l'information que j'en ay prise de la bouche du dit Ferguson. La raison que ces Meſſieurs l'avoient accosté de tels propos estoit apparemment parcequ'il fut destiné pour commander en chef le party qu'on destacha avec les fregates pour faire diversion. Ces deux partis, Sire, des Jacobins et cabaliftes qui furent si contraires l'année passée, paroiffent si unis a prefant pour l'opposer a tout ce que je propose du service de vostre Majesté qu'il faudroit eſtre bien aveugle pour ne pas l'appercevoir qu'ils couvrent quelque mechant dessein qui pourra bientoſt esclater. Je foushairois volontiers que ce foit avant le paſſage de vostre Majesté avec tout le choix des troupes en Irelaude, comme l'on le desbitté icy, quoy que je ne fcaurois ajouter entier foi ; me reprefentant le danger qu'il f'y rencontra. J'espere que Dieu preſide

a tous ses conseils, mais l'histoire de tout le pays, sans exempter l'Angleterre mesme aux expeditions d'Irelande, nous en font foy ; et je suis persuadée, comme aussi les ennemis de son gouvernement l'ont declaré dans leur conversation avec Ferguson, qu'ils croient que ce ne fut plustost une feinte qu'une resolution arrestée de vostre Majesté tant ils en souhaitent la verité. J'ay pris la liberté d'en dire mon jugement il y a quelque temps a vostre Majesté, comme aussi depuis quelques jours au Comte de Marleborough avant que j'avois rien appris de mesme de ces Herodes et Pilates, qui, d'une haine qu'on croyoit irreconciliable, se sont accordés pour persecuter nostre sauveur, si non en sa personne glorifiée au moins en l'œuvre de la deliverance de son Eglise commancée du ciel par les travaux et soins infatigables de vostre Majesté. Je continue, Sire, dans l'opinion qu'on devroit commander au plustost quelque cavallerie de ce costé des frontières des deux royaumes, quelque resolution que vostre Majesté prenne le mouvement ne les eloignera guere du lieu d'embarquement, cependant l'on verra quel tour le Parlement prendra. Le grand Dieu premier et principal auteur de cet heureux changement garde sa personne sacrée de tous les desseins de ses ennemis et conduise ses hautes entreprises a la gloire de son grand nom et a l'immortelle louange du regne de vostre Majesté que feront toujours les prières, Sire, de vostre Majesté le tres-humble, tres-obeissant, tres-fidelle Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

SIRE, Il y a deux jours qu'iant rangu visite au Comte d'Arran, si rencontray le Milord Annandel et Roſs, puis apres le Duc de Queenberry y vinst. Sortant de la, le dit Comte me conduisit a sa porte, et m'affeura de son estime ; je lui repondis que j'estois fort de ses serviteurs, parceque j'espérois de le voir encore bien en faveur aupres de vostre Majesté. La deffus il commença a m'afflurer qu'il avoit eu beaucoup d'inclination d'aller servir en Hollande sous vostre Majesté ; mais qu'il n'en put jamais obtenir liberté du Roy Charles, et que se trouvant engagé au Roy Jacque, jusqu'a la fin, il ne pouvoit se refoudre de l'abandonner

a son besoin, mais si lui arrivoit de promettre fidelité a vostre Majesté il mouriroit plutot que de la lui faulfer. Je croy qu'il ne seroit pas mal aiffé de l'engager a prefant moyenant quelque honeste pension, car son pere le tient court. Je crois effectivement qu'il a beaucoup d'honneur bien plus que beaucoup d'autres qui jurent fidelité a vostre Majesté, afin de mieux traher son service ; mais si vostre Majesté fut d'opinion qu'on l'essayat, il faudroit que son commisionnaire en eut l'ordre au plutost pour prevenir les pratiques de ceux qui fans doute travaillent a l'attirer dans leur party et mechans desseins. Je trouve le Comte de Drumlenrig fort cordial et ouvert pour l'intereft de votre Majesté ; les deux jeunes seigneurs esclipseroient fort tout le credit et la dependance de leurs peres mal satisfaits.

Lettre ecrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 9 Avril 1690.

MONSIEUR, J'ay ecris si amplement au Roy, que je n'ay qu'a vous prier de vouloir faire de forte que sa Majesté prenne des promtes resolutions pour ce qui regard la feurreté de son service icy, et quoy que, Monsieur, nous ayons a faire avec un ennemy lequel, moyenant des bonnes mesures seroit meprisable, dans l'estat miserable ou les affaires se trouvent dans ce royaume a prefant, il nous pourroit caufer des facheries et de diversions au dessein de sa Majesté ailleurs, si l'on n'y met ordre de bonne heure. Si l'on m'avoit voulu croire nous n'aurions pas esté tant embarrassés de ces gens-la, car je m'estois proposé avant ce temps-cy, d'estre en marche vers eux, mais l'on a tant negligé l'intereft du Roy, comme s'il n'estoit de nulle consequnce de lui perdre l'Ecoffe. Je confesse franchement si elle estoit située bien loin de l'Angleterre qu'elle ne meritroit pas qu'on y fongeaft beaucoup ; mais de la maniere que les affaires se trouvent ces desordres en pourroient inspirer a ses voisins. Non feullement les troupes foldoyées en Ecoffe ne font pas capables de subfister deux fois vingt-quatre heures en corps, mais auffly nos trois

regimens qui font au troisieme mois qu'ils n'ont reçeu d'argent qu'un peu de credit, que nous avons fait tant que les gens estoient dans l'esperance d'estre payés de jour a autre, mais a present voyans que l'argent tarde a venir c'en est fait, je trouve estrange qu'on en fait tenir tous les mois a Levinston et Leslie et a nous point. Si le Roy, outre notre payement courant, pouvoit se resoudre d'envoyer quelque somme d'argent a Milord Commissionnaire pour suppleer au besoin, il pourroit contribuer a son service d'avantage que vingt fois autant une autre fois, ce n'est pas, Monsieur, que je n'aye remarqué suffisamment combien je suis negligé depuis que le Roy m'a engagé dans une si facheuse commission que je m'en fay, mais parce que grace a Dieu je renonce volontiers a toutes considerations miennes, pourveu qu'on veuille songer un peu au service mon regret est (comme vous savez, Monsieur, que je m'en suis fort souuent plaint) que ceux que le Roy emploie ont trop d'egard a l'establissement de leurs familles, ce qui me fait suspecter qu'il y en a qui tirent a deux butes; car a quoy faire tant d'empressement de faire nostre fortune dans un pais, ou l'on n'a pas encore bien assurée l'interêt qui nous la doit assurer. Le torrent est rapide et grand parmi toutes sortes des gens contre le President de la Sealion et son fils, mais plus contre le fils que le pere. Je croy que leur esloignement du ministere, contenteroit bien du monde. Il n'y a que mon zelle pour cett interest qui seroit capable de me faire jamais ouvrir la bouche d'avantage pour me mesler a donner des avis, mais ce principe qui des le commencement m'a fait uniquement engager dans cette querelle mespris qu'on tefmoigne pour moy et mes conseils ne me permet pas de me faire quelque resolution contraire que j'aye pris. Dieu est mon tefmoin que je suis fort indifferant quant a mon particulier qu'ils soient les ministres, en forte que je ne tacherois de metre le moindre de ses sujets mal dans l'esprit du Roy justement, pour tout l'avantage que je me pourrois jamais proposer de mes services, mais comme je renonce volontiers a tout interêt mien pour avancer le service d'un esprit degagé de tout autre soin que de mon salut et de celluy la, il me semble qu'il n'y a point de crime que j'en agisse de mesme a l'endroit

des autres toutes fois que je trouve leur interêt traverser celluy du bien publicue. Ce ne feroit que des redites inutiles que de vous ecrire les mesmies chofes que j'ay ecrites au Roy, en forte, Monsieur, que je vous prie seulement de vous vouloir repreſenter dans l'esprit l'embarraſſ ou je me trouve a fin d'insister que fa Majesté despeche au plus vifte fes ordres pour prevenir le mal; lequel autrement en pourra attirer d'autres plus facheux. Sachez, Monsieur, que je ne pourray marcher un pas avec nos troupes fans permettre le pillage et toute forte des defordres, qui eſt fi contraire a mon humeur, que j'aimerois mieux n'avoir jamais fait le metier, que de commander des troupes qui ne puiffent fubfifter que par le crime. Je vous prie donc, Monsieur, d'y fonger, car effectivement quand mesme le Parlement donneroit a presant de l'argent, l'on n'en pourra pas furvenir a la necessité preſente et toute preſſante du service. Si la resolution fe pouvoit prendre d'en envoyer d'Angleterre pour espargner vingt fois autant qu'il pourra couter au Roy, avant que les defordres fe pourroient redreſſer, que la pauvrete preſente nous pourra cauſer, le meilleur expediant feroit de parler avec un certain James Foules, banquier Ecoſſois a Londres, qui trouveroit le moyen d'en faire tenir icy au pluſtoſt, je vous en recommande d'ereſchef la serieufe conſideration, comme l'opinion, Monsieur, de voftre tres-humble, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, le 14 May 1690.

SIRE, La necessité preſſante du service m'oblige de m'adrefſſer d'ereſchef a voftre Majesté, afin de n'avoir rien a me reprocher, fi apres tant de foin et de folicitude jusqu'a me priver du repos neceſſaire pour le ſuport de la nature, il fe trouve que le service ne l'avance pas felon que je me le fuis propoſé, et que naturellement l'on en pourroit attendre fi tous nos deſſeins, manque de moyens neceſſaires de les executer, ne l'etouffoient dans la naiffance.

Voftre Majesté ordonna l'envoye de 4000 livres sterling pour fubvenir aux fraix du deſſein d'Inderlochy; mais Milord Commiffionnaire, qui ne

peut pas refister aux plaintes continues des troupes, leur en a fait distribuer une bonne partie deja. Les trois regimens Hollandais, dont j'ay tiré le desfachement qui doit agir par mer, et qui doivent faire la plus part de l'infanterie que je dessein de mener a Inderlochy, font fans argent et credit. La farine que je demandoisi, il y a quelque temps qu'on la tient prête pour l'envoyer par mer d'abord que nos fregates feroient sur les costes ennemis pour l'affurer, ne l'est pas encore, quoy que les dittes fregates y soient, et ne scay pas pour quand que l'on l'y despechera. Des biscuits que j'ay ordonné pour la marche l'on ne m'en pourra pas fournir le quart, et des materiaux pour la construction d'un fort, et pour faire des casernes, il n'en est nulle nouvelle, et cela non obstant que je ne manque un jour de conseil que je ne propose ce qu'il est de besoin d'avoir pour pouvoir le proposer de compafler le dessein de la reduction de ses rebelles, de forte que vostre Majesté peut juger combien une personne qui ne le propose pour tout avantage que celluy du service (comme il en peut appeler en tesmoignage celluy aux yeux duquel rien ne demeure cache) qui n'est pas tout a fait si ignorant en son metier que de ne voir une grande facilité a venir a bout de cette rebellion. Si on ne luy tenoit les mains lieés, combien, dis-je, une telle personne doit fe chagriner qu'on la prive comme a dessein du contentement de pouvoir contribuer dans son poste a l'affermissement d'un regne qui doit produire tant d'avantage pour l'Europe protestante. Si bien, Sire, que je suis tenté a souçonner qu'on ne retarde vostre service, de peur que je ne fusse l'instrument par lequel il fut avancé, et quoy que je ne puis pas facilement croire le commisionnaire coupable d'un dessein si peu consonnant a la profession de pieté qu'il fait, si ne puis-je non plus m'empêcher de suspecter Milord Tarbet, qui luy rend des visites de nuit, qui est mon ennemy desclaré, et dont la conſcience est capable d'avaler des pillulles de cette forte. Et pour faire voire a vostre Majesté que ce n'est pas fans aucun sujet que je suspecte quelque dessein semblable, je trouve que Milord Commisionnaire ne pouſſe nullement les choses que je luy recommande pour l'avancement de mon dessein, tefmoin qu'il y a plus de fix semaines que je le sollicite

d'establir une personne propre pour exercer la charge de commissaire des vivres, quoy qu'il ne l'ait pas fait encore, et que c'est tousjours a refaire quand je lui propose quelque chose du service, si c'est par malice je ne l'en croy pas la source, mais, Sire, il a un fin compere qui le mene toutes fois malgré tout empêchement. Je ne suis nullement en payne de venir a bout de cette rebellion, pourveu qu'on nous defende des secours estrangers que nos ennemis attendent autant que jamais felon les avis d'aujourd'huy, ils recommencent a reprendre courage, d'autant qu'ils ne voyent pas que nous nous mettions en etat de poursuivre nostre dernier avantage, quoy que j'aye les troupes assemblees toutes prêtes a marcher, mais je fremis quand je pense aux difficultés que j'auray de les pouvoir faire subsister, et aux plaintes des soldats qui doivent necessairement patir par l'endroit du corp le plus sensible, scavoir, le ventre. Mais comme je ne scaurois plus long temps deferer la marche, si quelque inconvenient arrive au service de vostre Majesté de tous ces manques, j'attende de la justice quelle ne me l'imputtera point, veu que je proteste en homme de bien que je me rend tellement esclave de la negligence et nonchalance d'autreuy, (qui ne donnerois le petit mot de toutes qui releve les dispositions militaires si je ne les y tenois quasi par force quelque fois), que nulle consideration m'y aura pu assujettir si long tems que celle d'un service, dont humainement semble dependre le bonne heure temporel des Proteftans. Je souhaiterois, Sire, que le regiment de Berklay fust en Ecoffe pour, avec d'autres troupes qu'on lui joindra sous Monsieur de Berklay, qui est une personne de bon jugement et de service, tenir en repos ce bout de royaume ; car vostre Majesté peut l'affurer que cette nation est dans un ferment qui pourra produire d'estranges changements si l'on ne pourvoit en laissant cette Isle bien assuré des forces affidées au service de vostre Majesté. Je suis plus en payne de nos regimens qu'ils ne desertent, a cause qu'ils n'ont pas esté accoutumés a manquer leur folde que des troupes Ecoffoises. Je demande tres-humblement pardon, Sire, de cette longue lettre, mais comme c'est le zelle pour le service de vostre Majesté qui me rend si impatient de voir les affaires de ce pais-cy tellement menées

a bon port que vostre Majesté eut les bras d'autant plus libres pour travailler a la desliverance de tant d'ames oppreſſées qui prient Dieu pour le fucces de ſes armes comme fera inceſſalement celluy qui fera toute ſa vie, Sire, de vostre Majesté, &c.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, du 29 May 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Ce gouvernement fera capable de faire perdre la patience en Job. Il y a bien un mois que j'ay les troupes que je tire de ce bout du royaume en corps attendant qu'on me depechaſt, car non feullement nous perdons l'occacion de prendre ſes rebelles pendant leur eſtonnement, mais, en meſme temps, celle d'agir de concert avec les fregates et mon detachement que j'ay ſur leurs coſtés, dont j'attendrois des bons ſervices, ſi je les pouvois pouffer, en meſme temps, de mon coſté. J'ay beau, Monsieur, de leur parler des raiſons de la guerre, et leur repreſenter, qu'outre les dits motifs pour les obligier a diligenter ma depeche, la feureté qu'il y auroit deſtablir une garniſon de bonne heuré au millieu des rebelles en cas qu'il y eut quelque debarquement de la part du Roy Jacques, ou ſoulevement pendant l'absfance de fa Majesté; car en laiffant 1200 hommes en feuretē a Inderlochy avec un regiment a Inderneſs et quelque autres petites garniſons, je pourray agir le reſte de la campagne avec 5 a 6000 hommes, quelque part que le ſervice du Roy m'apellaſt. Voicy un avantage et feureté bien visible pour le ſervice de fa Majesté. Mais que je parle de cela. Soit au commiſſionnaire ou a qui que ce foit du gouvernement, rien ne les peut eveiller de leur ftupidité. Ce feroit dur et pecher contre la charité de condamner comme mal affectionés tous ceux qui montrent de l'indifférence pour l'avancement du ſervice, au moins quant aux meſures de la campagne. Voyant donc la lenture du commiſſionnaire a faire expedier les chofes que je luy propofay, je m'addrefſay il y a 8 a 10 jours au conſeil, luy repreſentant que, puis que je n'avois nulles inſtructions n'y pouvoir du Roy, et que ma commiſſion m'obligeoit a recevoir

les ordres, je venois offrir a sa confideration que la faison propre pour agir contre cette ennemy l'eculoit sans rien faire, que nous perdions les avantages mentionnes cy deffus, et pour y remedier qu'on fit un emprunt de 6000 livres sterling pour payer un entier mois de gage aux troupes que je menerois avec moy, et fournir aux fraix d'intelligence et de quelque peu de douceur aux troupes que je feray travailler a la fortification, qu'ils ordonnaissent que le pais me fournit de 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres par les montaigns, ou nul chariot ne peut passer, avec 800 pioniers feullement des provinces voyfines de Lochaber et qu'avec cette appareil qui ne seroit pas difficile a fournir, moyenant la bonne volonté, j'estois preft a marcher, ayant fait cuire du bisquit pour la marche, et ordonné l'envoye des farines a Inderlochy par mer ; mais quoique j'aye pu preffer de bouche et par des memoires rien ne c'est resolu encore. Je ne scay, Monsieur, ce que j'en dois croire, mais je vois evidemment que quand je propose quelque chose touchant le service en conseil, Monsieur le Commiffionnaire n'en parle jamais. Il ne scauroit estre avantageux au service quand celluy qui en a la direction est hay de ceux par les soufrages desquelles il faut qu'il se gouverne, et c'est justement mon cas. Les Jacobins me sont ennemis, parcequ'ils le font^{de} l'interet que j'ay epoufflay, les cabalists, dont j'ay condamné les mesures, me veuillent du mal, et les ministres me regardent de mauvais oeil, de forte que, comme j'ay souvent representé, j'aprehende que des gens ignorans le metier m'empêchent l'avancement du service a mon egard, ce dont je suspeche ce dernier ordre, dont je conclus qu'il ne scauroit estre avantageux au service du Roy que je commande icy en chef d'oresenavant, voyant comme j'y suis hay et limité de forte que je ne puis rien entreprendre sans la concurrence du gouvernement. Le fujet de leur haine n'est pas parceque je recherche ce qu'aucun d'eux pretend, car je declare franchement que quand le Roy m'y donneroit des avantages aufquelles je n'oserois jamais penser, je ne voudrois jamais estre personne publique en Ecosse ; mais a cause que je n'y veu espoufer nul parti que celluy du service ; et comme je n'y pretend rien que de l'avancer, aussy n'espargne-je

qui que ce soit que j'y vois manquer. Ce n'est pas une proposition nouvelle, comme vous scavez, Monsieur, qu'il y a long temps que je vous ay tenu le mesme language, que je ne renouvelle pas pour m'afranchir des fatigues ou hazards. Dieu le scait, mais a fin que le Roy scache avant qu'il quitte cette ille, si quelque affaire croustilleuse l'y prefentoit en son absance, que je me declare incapable de le servir comme sa Majesté pourroit attendre s'il y avoit des gens vigoureux et resolu au timon de l'estat, le moindre bruit des troubles estant capable de faire perdre cœur a nostre Commissionnaire, dont cette foibleffe est accompagnée d'un autre fort incommode pour moy, c'est que quoi qu'il n'entend guere reasoner sur les affaires de la guerre, il n'en veut pas croire ceux qui en font le metier. Si le Roy Charles, ou quelque autre qui n'avoit pas l'humeur fort guerriere, avoit asfujetty le jugement de ses officiers a celluy des personnes qui font si peu capables de se former des justes idées du service, ce ne m'allarmeroit pas ; mais de me voir exposé a la risée de tous ceux qui ne scavent pas mes dures circonstances, d'un maistre que j'ay servi tantost 16 ans sans avoir jamais donné sujet legitime de suspechter ma fidelité, c'est ce que je trouve un peu trop mortifiant ; quoique si je n'y rencontrois de facheux que ce qui me touche en particullier, mon zelle pour cett interêt me le feroit passer sous filance ; mais j'y connois un grand tort au service dont je me sens chargé quoique je n'en suis pas credité. Pour donc, Monsieur, couper court, puisque d'oresanavant l'on ne peut pas par toutes les ordinaires representer les choses au Roy, ni en tirer resolutions felon les changemens qui pourroient ariver, il feroit bon que sa Majesté fit scavoir au Commissionnaire, que quand quelqu'un lui suggeſte des opinions contraires aux miennes, il nous confronte en prefance de quelques autres du conseil a fin que la raison des uns et des autres soient connues, et qu'il ne s'amuse pas sans me satisfaire des raisons, a retarder mes mesures pour le service, ou que sa Majesté me tienne pour excusé de tous les inconveniens qui en pourront arriver a son service pendant son absance, car j'en lave mes mains.

Pendant vostre absance, Monsieur, j'avois prie le Comte de Marle-

borough de demander au Roy fil ne le jugeroit de son service, que pendant la campagne j'eusse le pouvoir de remplacer les vacances, sur tout puis qu'il faudroit attendre si long temps pour avoir leurs commissions d'Irlande, je le propose feulement, et le Roy en jugera, protestant feulement que depuis que j'ay eu le credit de lui recommander des officiers je n'en ay jamais profité un sou, si bien qu'il n'y a que la commodité du service qui m'en fait parler, estant nécessaire qu'il le loge quelque part pendant son absence de cette île, je ne me soucieray pas la, ou pourveu que le service n'en patît.

Je vous prie, Monsieur, de croire franchement que je ne me forme le moindre sujet de deplaisir qu'au regard de celluy la, estant faché que non obstant que je me prive de tout ce que me doit estre cher et agreable au monde a cett esgard, je trouve tous mes desseins et travaux se resoudre en fumée l'avortans dans la naissance ; car je me fois fort de soustenir contre qui qui l'y voulût oposer, qu'il y a long temps qu'on auroit assoupi les troubles de ce royaume sans couter de bien loin pres tant au Roy, si mes projets avoyent esté poursuivis. Ce n'est pas, Monsieur, pour me faire valoir que j'en dis tant, car un autre qui fut si appliqué si long temps peut-être y auroit mieux réussi, surtout si le Roy deferoit plus a son juge-ment, mais afin que quoiqu'il arrive de moy, la suite lui fasse scavoir que je ne me proposois pour toute butte depuis que j'ay vaincues toutes mes scrupules pour m'embarquer dans cette interêt que de l'avancer fidelement sans donner un moment a d'autres pensées si ce n'est d'y implorer la benediction du ciel pour supleer a tous nos defauts et faux pas. Soyez donc assuré, Monsieur, moyenant le support d'en haut que je ne relacheray jamais de mon zelle, quoique je n'en puisse pas promettre des effets considerables de la maniere que je me trouve circonstancie. J'ay proposé qu'on formât une comitté du conseil pour vaquer principalement pendant cette campagne aux affaires de la guerre, mais quoiqu'il y ait douze jours depuis cette proposition, et que le conseil l'en est remis a la nomination de Milord Commissionnaire c'en est encore a faire. Je veu croire que la lenteur de sa disposition naturelle y contribue, mais puisqu'il traite avec

les ennemis fans aucune mienne communication, ce n'est menquer a la charité que de suspecter qu'il y peut avoir du dessein de retarder mes mesures, mais si Milord a choify ses conseillers par nomination de sa Majesté que le tort que son service en pourra recevoir leur soit aussi attribuée. Je ne puis faire nul estat sur le temps que je dois marcher. Si je ne me veux exposer a la faim, ce que je ne voudrois volontiers faire sans nécessité; mais si ces rebelles se rassemblent, il faut que je donne la dedans quoiqu'en arrive pour empêcher leur junction avec tant qui les recevraient a bras ouverts. Je prie Dieu de conduire la personne sacrée et les desseins de sa Majesté la ramenant couronnée de lauriers, et vous souhaitte de tout mon cœur toute sorte de prosperité, et suis, &c.

Quoy que j'aye honte de plus parler d'argent pour nos trois regimens, j'ay peur de la consequnce, la désertion étant déjà commencée dans celluy de Lauder.

Lettre au Roy, du 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Venant d'apprendre pour certain que votre Majesté l'est résolue de partir de Londres pour Chester jeudi 5 de ce mois, et me trouvant principalement embarrassé de ce que le gouvernement ne me preste pas la main comme il feroit bien de besoin, et que vostre Majesté quelque instance que j'en aye fait ne me communique pas ses pensées sur ce qui relève de ma charge, et que je me met en payne d'entendre, n'ayant rien qui en divertit mon esprit, j'ay dépeché Lieutenant-Collonel Hill avec des instructions touchant l'estat présent des affaires et la carte du pais, ou je dois agir contre cet ennemis barbare, dont j'espere quelque temps et occasion favorable que la lenteur ou desseins ou bien tous les deux ensemble mont fait perdre mal-à-propos, moyenant la bénédiction de Dieu que j'implore sur ses justes armes de toutes parts, de lui rendre bon conte avant qu'il soit paffé que peu des femaines et de temps.

Si vostre Majesté aura le temps de lire ses instructions et considerer la carte elle, y verra la raison de mes plaintes, de l'idée que je me forme

de la campagne et de tort qu'on a de m'en empêcher la poursuite tant qu'on a fait jusques à présent, si bien que tous les pas qu'on l'avance font contre le fil des desseins qui se forment pour renverser les miens. Je suis d'opinion, Sire, qu'une personne d'un tempérament différent du mien n'y renconterait pas tant d'obstacles, mais comme mes desseins quant au service font justes, désintéressées, et chrétiens, aussi blâmé-je librement tous ceux qui n'agissent de la même sincérité dont je m'attire des ennemis, qui le font peut-être à cause du moy, du service. Mais pourvu que votre Majesté n'en retire pas son secours, j'espere que peu de temps vaudra le différent, car si son service y estoit une fois en sécurité, je la prieray très-instantanément de m'en retirer. Quoique je suis d'opinion, Sire, que votre Majesté doit laisser cette île en toute sécurité, je ne suis pas d'avis de négliger des certaines avantages felon toutes les apparences pour crainte de ce que peut arriver. J'ay demandé, Sire, au Comte de Portland que si je devrois relever de ce Commissaire, et qu'il fût dans quelque affaire crostilleuse et difficile à manier, il feroit capable de tout gâter, car la peur lui fait demander conseil à bien des personnes, comme je crois et n'estant pas capable d'enformer un bon jugement, il pourra l'attacher au pis, de sorte qu'il feroit bon que votre Majesté l'explique là-dessus ; car le caractère d'un commissaire qui ne consulte pas les choses avec un commandant-en-chef lui peut apporter beaucoup d'obstacles, surtout lorsqu'il se trouve absent du conseil, ou je trouve assez du crédit pour emporter une partie de ce que je propose, quoiqu'il y paroisse fort froid et indifférent, car comme je n'appréhende rien que la perte du service, je parle franchement, il prétend d'appréhender un soulèvement tant au sud d'Ecosse qu'en Angleterre d'abord que votre Majesté l'aura quitté, que si je me relachois tant fait peu de mon empressement pour la réduction des montaignards, il feroit capable d'en divertir le dessein pour cette année ; mais il me semble que c'est bien mal entendre et prendre les choses, car cet ennemy étant réduit tous les esprits brouillons se calmeraient ; et si j'avois une fois assuré une poste à Inverlochy, je feray capable de marcher avec un corps de 6000 hommes d'assez bonnes troupes

partout ou le service m'appelleroit, fans crainte que j'aurois fes barbares sur mes talons, au lieu qu'a prefant, si j'eftois occupé ailleurs ils attendoient se fondre sur le plats pais qui sont ailles dispoſées a les recevoir et joindre. Et si pendant que je feray a Inderlochy, il surviñt quelque foulvement vers les frontieres des deux royaumes deux mille hommes que j'y laifſſe, comprenant le regimant de Berkley, feroient capables de leur donner des affaires en attendant que je m'accourût a leur fecours, ce que je propoſe de pouvoiſ faire en fort peu de temps, et laiffer ce poste hors d'infulte en mesme temps ; mais j'ay beau a rendre des raifons a des gens qui n'estudient que des arguments, la plus part pretendus, pour la renverſſer. Je poursuis toutes fois mon deſſlein, et espere que vostre Majesté l'aprouvera, parce que je ne voy rien quy m'en deut divertir encore ; si Monsieur le Commissionnaire le fcait, il ne me le communique pas, ce qui me fait croire que fes raifons ne font que des chimeres et les effeſts de fa nature craintive. Je vous prie, Sire, d'eftre perſuadé que je n'ay nulle querelle contre ce Seigneur que celle du service ; et feray toujouſſs esperant que tant d'anes fidelles perfecutées quy foupirent incessemment au ciel pour implorer les benedictiōns fur fes armes, dont depend humainement leur deliverance, lui obtiendront par l'interceſſion du glorieux auteur de la verité qu'elle fouſtient une glorieufe campaigne, avec l'heureux fin des troubles de fes trois royaumes, afin que dans les suivantes elle porte fes armes dans le cœur des estats ennemis de l'evangille et de nostre salut. Dieu y vueille ficher fon ſceau, et ramener vostre Majesté toute couronnée de gloire et des viétoires qui feront toujouſſs les fidelles prieres de celluy qui est inviolablement, Sire, de vostre Majesté le tres-humble, &c.

Lettre ecrīte au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 5 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Vous auriez compaffion de moy si vous fcaviez l'embarras ou je me suis toujouſſs trouvé depuis que le Roy m'a envoyé dans ce purgatoire, ou si j'avois d'autres deſſeins en veue que celluy de bien et

fidellement avancer le service, je n'aurois pas esté si travaillie, mais m'accommo^{da}nt a l'humeur de ceux qui m'y pourroient assister, je paſſerois le temps sans fouci, trouvant aſſes de quoи m'excuser, quand je demeurerois auſſy indifferant que ceux dont il me faut recevoir des ordres ; car je ne croy pas qu'il c'eſt jamais veu qu'une personne qui n'eſt muny d'aucun pouvoir d'agir de fon chef, fut chargé de tout, comme je suis icy, car effectivement des gens plus ſcrupuleux que moy auroient garde de l'attirer des ambarres dont leur maſtre les excufe, au moins tacitement. Je ne croy pas que jamais personne fervant le fien de la maniere que j'ay ſervi le Roy qui n'en fut plus creditée, et fi je l'avois par rapport d'un autre circonſtantie comme moy, j'aurois de la payne a le croire. Que le Roy emploie une personne attachée de long temps a ſon interêt et ſervice, de la fidelité, de laquelle l'on dit qu'il fe tient ſatisfait dans un pais et parmi un peuple tout divisé a fa Majefté, encore pour la plus part inconnus, et ou ceux quelle emploie aux affaires de l'eſtat, ont neceſſairement auſſy peu de connoiſſance de celles de la guerre sans luy faire ſcavoir la moindre choſe positive de la maniere quelle doit agir, non obſtant d'infances faites a cette egard. Si c'eſtoit, Monsieur, un gouvernement tel qu'il fe voit ailleurs qui eut quelque rotine de la guerre, il ne me facheroit pas d'y eſtre affujeti, car ce n'eſt pas la vanité d'eſtre chargée de grands affaires, et au deſla de ma portée qui me pouſſe a tenir ce propos, au contraire j'en fuis fort indifferant, pourveu que le ſervice n'en fut negligé ; mais de recevoir tous ſes ordres des gens qui n'y voyent goute, quoiqu'ils l'en croient tous des maſtres, c'eſt ce que naturellement ne doit pas reuſſir a l'avantage du ſervice. Quoiqu'en arrive, Monsieur, ma conſcience ſera toujouſs nette, et les gens raiſonables qui ſcavent ce qui en eſt m'excueront de blame, quoiqu'il foit mal aſſe de persuader le monde qu'il n'y aille de la faute du commandant des troupes quand les affaires a rebours. Si je feavois que le Roy voulut que le fort de cette guerre dependit du ſucces de celle d'Irelande, je ne m'en mettrois pas tant en pagne, et le prierois tres-humblement que je ſuffe de la partie ; mais comme ma raiſon et les imparfaites ideés que je me forme du metier

me dictoient des penfées contraires, je tachois de faire telles dispositions quelle futachevée icy, scavoit la campagne, avant quelle pût commencer la, sechant qu'il ne faut pas tant de façon pour agir avec des petits corps, qu'avec des grandes armées. Si donc je ne fais pas les choses felon l'intention de mon maistre, je n'en suis pas a blamer, car je n'en scay rien, autrement j'auray garde d'y manquer. A toutes mes difficultés, Monsieur, ce n'est pas la moindre que nos trois regiments manquent d'argent; le porteur de celle-ci, vous pourra faire voir l'accident qu'il en est arrivé depuis peu, et je souhaite que la punition qui le suivit de fi pres en arrête le cours. Ce n'est pas la vraye faison de la laisser manquer d'argent aux troupes lorsqu'il faut marcher contre les ennemis, mais patience, des autres en auroient fait plus de bruit, et peut-estre en seroient plus refroidis et descouragés. Je feray toujours mon possible pour n'avoir rien a me reprocher, je ne me plaindray plus de la maniere desobligante que Milord Commissionnaire me traite; il voudroit que je dependit des ordres qu'il ne consulte qu'avec ceux qui font ignorants ou me font suspects. Mais je m'addresse doreseenavant au conseil, et me fache que je ne l'aye fait plustost, car la je trouve que la raison prend quelque place, et depuis ma derniere, je m'y trouve assisté aussi bien qu'au Parlement, et plus que je n'attendois de Monsieur le Duc d'Hamilton. Il y a quatre a cinq jours qu'il se plaint qu'il n'a jamais esté fi mal traité sous aucun gouvernement, et me pria de vous ecrire et representer que l'il avoit fait quelque chose qui parut contre le service du Roy, que cela n'a jamais esté son dessein, comme il en appelle a temoin ce qu'il avoit dit au Parlement quand il estoit question de ses prerogatives royalles, mais que se trouvant negligé et comme traité en petit garçon des ministres, la nature avoit tant de pouvoir sur lui qu'il en vouloit aucunement estre revangé. Je lui dis que je vous ecrirois de la maniere qu'il parloit, mais qu'il avoit donné trop de sujet depuis la fession du Parlement de le suspecter par tous ceux qui l'interessent pour le service de leurs Majestés et trop de prises a ses ennemis en se joignant a tels qu'on en scavoit estre ennemis, et dont il n'avoit pas accoutumé d'estre trop amis auparavant. Il me dit qu'il

n'avoit confulté qu'avec des gens qu'il scavoit estre affectionés comme lui a ce gouvernement en general, mais qu'il en voudroit voir la maniérement entre d'autres mains quant au ministere, et me prioit de creire que c'estoit le fond de son dessein et jamais la moindre pensée de traverfer le regne de leurs Majestés. Quoiqu'il en soit il semble qu'il se relasche. Je scay bien que lorsqu'a mon jugement il servoit bien le Roy que Milord Melvill en parloit mal, scavoir l'année passée. C'est une personne assez habille et scavante quant au gouvernement de ce pais, mais je ne l'ay jamais considerée comme propre a manier des desseins perilleux, estant trop ouvert, car a mon opinion il a le cœur sur le bouche, car ceux qui ne scavent dissimuler leurs mecontentements ne sont jamais fort dangereux a l'estat et pour lui fa maniere de faire mit le Commissionnaire des son arrivée icy sur les gardes. Il me dit aussi qu'il ne vouloit pas repondre de la conduite de son fils, qu'il estoit trop frequenté de trop de gens mal affectionés a ce regne, et voulut que je vous avertisse qu'il n'estoit plus sur caution, le temps estant ecoulé, je l'ay communiqué a Milord Commissionnaire, quoiqu'il je croy que ce jeune Seigneur feroit facile a gagner ; mais je ne veu jamais repondre d'un Ecoffois de ce temps, car je le voye si flottant que je ne puis pas en faire jugement definitif, mais comme il me semble vous avoir écrit d'autres fois, je suis d'opinion que les ministres créent plus des malcontens (surtout quand a ceux dont il apprehende la qualité et le credit) qu'il ne feroit pas convenable pour les conjunc̄tions. Je souhaitterois pour la facilité et feureté du service, et pour l'avancement de l'interêt protestant, que tous les serviteurs du Roy fussent en cet endroit comme moy, qui se dit sans vanité faissant le service par une principe de conscience, sans esgard a l'interêt propre. Mais je vous affure, Monsieur, qui l'en trouve peu icy mesme de ceux que veuillent passer pour tels, quoique Monsieur le Commissionnaire dit tout hautement que le service du Roy lui a déjà couté 2000 livres sterling, et que son fils en a perdu 5 a 6000 par son regiment, quoique je scache que ce jeune Seigneur en profita plus de 2000 livres sterling le premier mois, car il ne donnoit pas un sou d'argent de levée a ses officiers, ni du mois de Mars, et que d'autres

entendant le propos du pere dirent qui pouvoient faire le conte de plus de 15,000 livres sterling qu'il avoit profité depuis qu'il est secretaire d'estat. Tous ces propos ne font, Monsieur, que pour vous faire voir la religion et le zelle de ce pais c'y n'est qu'interêt tout haut qu'il en crie ; et qu'il y auroit toujours des querelles et mecontentemens du costé des ministres pour tacher de fi continuer et d'empoigner pour eux et pour toutes leurs creatures tous les profits, et des autres qui l'en croient plus dignes par le fang de posseidé. Enfin, je croy de pouvoir faire estat de marcher vers le 13 ou 14 de ce mois, parcequ'apres beaucoup de disputes et de folicitations l'on m'a ordonné 600 chevaux de charge pour porter les vivres et le petit bagage des troupes, et j'ay assez bonne opinion de la faire, moyenant la concurrence du ciel, car celle des hommes me manque, n'en ayant que ce que l'arrache contre le gré des ministres ; mais le Duc d'Hamilton m'a promis la fienne pendant mon absence, car depuis que j'ay changé de ton je commandant d'emporter quelque chose au conseil quand je suis present. S'il arrive icy quelque vacance, je vous prie de vous souvenir de Monsieur Buchan, qui est un des plus sensées officiers que j'ay avec moy, et merit fort bien un regiment, estant affectioné au service, et capable de le metre sur un bon pied quand même il en eut qui ne valût guere. Le porteur de celle-ci voudroit bien avoir un ordre du Roy pour son traitement d'adjutant-general c'est peu de chose icy, a cause qu'il estoit accommodé au temps de paix ou ses officiers n' estoient pas obligés a faire des depances. Si le Roy le lui vouloit faire augmenter pendant la guerre il en feroit plus capable d'en faire le service, car c'est un bon officier dont j'attend beaucoup d'assistance. Il est estrange que le Roy ne me donne point d'aide de camp, quoique je n'aye ecrite plus d'une fois ; je ne me plains de rien de ce qui me touche en particulier, car je ferois faché si dans ce service je ferois capable de me laisser chattoiller d'aucune consideration que de l'esperance de contribuer mon peu a l'avancement de l'interêt protestant. Je vous prie de pardonner que je vous ecrite de si longues lettres ; mais c'est pour le service du maistre qui doit excuser l'importunité. Croyez franchement, Monsieur, que je ne vous

ecris jaimais que la verité felon l'idée prefante que j'ay des choses. Mais comme je tiens mon chemin en ligne droite, il ne faut pas f'étonner que je varie quelque fois dans mes relations des personnes, a mesure qu'ils f'en aprochent ou eloignent. S'il plaît a Dieu d'apaiser les troubles de ce pais par mes foibles quoique fidelles et diligens efforts, je vous prie que le Roy ne m'y laisse d'avantage, car mon humeur est incompatible avec les gens de ce pais-cy. Je suis en toute sincerité, Monsieur, &c.

Lettre ecrite au Roy, du 8 Juin 1690, d'Edinbourg.

SIRE, Venant d'apprendre qu'avec communication et recommandation de Milord Commissionnaire et des autres, le Comte de Braidalbin est parti secrètement d'icy pour Chester, je me croyé obligé d'avertir vostre Majesté que c'est par un conseil privé des personnes lesquelles pour la plus part se font montrées jusques ennemis de son interet et service (temoin que le dit Comte a la cloture de la dernière campagne crû qu'il ne peut estre acouvert de loix sans prendre l'indamnit ) et le feroit demain si le Roy Jacques estoit en estat de soustenir leurs desseins et efforts, et que le dit Braidalbin est un des plus grands dissimulateurs, pour ne pas dire de Judas qu'il y a au monde. Je ne m'opposerois jamais, Sire, aux effets de vostre clemence royale, mais de grace n'accordes point de cessation d'armes a des rebelles, qui ne cherchent qu'a gaigner du temps, se voyans en estat de ne pouvoir pas parer le coup qui est prêt a eclatter sur leurs testes; car tout court, Sire, ils ne se soumettront jamais en forte au gouvernement de vostre Majest , qu'ils ne soient toujours prets de se joindre a ses ennemis, qu'on ne leur ait mis le pied sur la gorge. Quelque condition donc que vostre Majest  de sa grace royale leur veuille accorder, il ne faut nullement demordre du dessein d'establir une forte garnison pendant cette campagne au millieu d'eux, et de les desarmer; et tous ceux qui luy conseillent le contraire, en ignorent la consequance ou trahissent son service.

Je suis prêt a marcher dans leur pais avec 5000 hommes d'afes bonnes troupes, capables moyenant que Dieu ne nous fait contraire d'effectuer mon dessein, quand il leur devroit venir 2 a 3000 hommes de secours d'ailleurs j'auray pres de 10,000 hommes, tant des troupes reglées que des montaignards nos amis a Indernefs que je me pourray faire joindre ou agir d'un autre costé, felon que j'en verray occasion, et avec le regiment de Berklay sur lequel je fay estat laisser environ 2600 hommes en deça la riviere de Forth, et les autres quartiers du royaume bien assurés contre tous hormis des voleurs. Ceux qui ont commandé et fait continuer cette rebellion jusques icy sont tellement allarmées de ma marche qu'ils mettent toutes pierres en œuvre pour la retarder, et Milord Commisionnaire, soit par sa nature craintif ou de dessein, (l'imaginant trouver dans la reduction des montaignards par voye d'accommodelement plus de quoi se faire valoir avec son grand conseiller Tarbet que f'ils estoient reduits par les armes), y donne dedans, comme il y a quelque temps que je l'ay remarqué. Le mauvais temps commence de bonne heure dans ces pais montaigneux, les troupes sont en marche, au moins le feront avant que je les puisse contremander vers le lieu de rendezvous, et comme je mene le plus grand nombre, je dois couvrir la marche des autres. La depance pour les vivres et autres materiaux est déjà faite, et ne faut que deux fois 24 heures et moins de bon vent pour avoir de nos vaiffeaux de vivres soit de Glasgow ou de ce costé de royaume, ou nous en avons fait embarquer afin que le vent ne nous puise guere manquer de l'un des ports a Inderlochy, les chevaux pour les tentes et les vivres qui nous doivent servir pendant la marche, et qui nous a couté du temps pour les obtenir de ce gouvernement sont ordonnées pour le 12 du courant au quartier des troupes. Si bien que si je suis arreté a presant vostre Majesté en peut facilement decouvrir la consequnce, que les ennemis pourront desfaire quelques unes des troupes qui marchent d'autres quartiers, que toute la depance tant pour les fregates, le louage des vaiffeaux de charges, que le parti de Ferguson et les vivres est perdue, qu'il faudra renvoyer les chevaux de bagage qui couteroit du temps pour les ravoir, et que nous

perdrions infalliblement cette saifon pour la reduction des rebelles, et tout cela pour fournir a ses ministres matiere de se glorifier d'avoir trouvé le moyen de reduire les montaignards a cette heure qu'on les tiennent en sa main d'une maniere plus effectuelle felon toutes les apparances humaines, si on me laisse faire estant assuré qu'ils ne me puissé opposer la moitié des forces que je vay mener contr' eux ; et si ce doit commencer quelque brouillerie dans cette ile pendant l'absance de vostre Majesté, ce feroit le véritable moyen de travailler utilement a l'appaifer que de nous assurer de ce costé la au pluſtot, car je me propoſe qu'au bout de 8 jours apres mon arrivé-la d'y pouvoir laiſſer 10 a 1200 hommes en toute feureté pour accourir avec le reſte des troupes-la ou le service de vostre Majesté me pourroit appeller, lesquells retiendroient tous ces rebelles chez eux, pour ne leur abandonner leurs femmes, enfans, maifons, et bestail, quand même il fe levat un foulvement dans d'autres endroits des deux royaumes. C'eſt ce que les ennemis apprehendent de ce deſſein, et dont Milord Commissionnaire estant imbue des arguments de Tarbot, qui eſt le plus charitable jugement que je puiffé former de fon opiniatreté a contre quarrer toutes mes mesures, et ne veut pas fe laiſſer convaincre. Sire, je ne vous propoſe rien que je ne juge de vostre vraye service, et comme vostre Majesté ne peut pas former des jugemens sur la maniere de faire la guerre contre les barbares que par description qu'elle reçoit des uns et des autres d'icy, de leurs forces, diſpoſition naturelle et de la nature et ſituation de leur pais. Il me femble qu'il me deut croire plus qu'aucun autre qui l'y trouve, tant a caufe de mes services, du temps que j'y ay déjà paſſé ; et que je suis natif d'un pais voisin et semblable, hormis qu'il eſt plus civilité ; que parce que peut-eftre suis-je le feul de tous ceux que vostre Majesté y emploie en caractere publique qui ne cherche de faire marcher les interêts particulliers de paire avec celluy de fon service. Je vous ſupplie donc, Sire, d'erechef de ne pas vouloir crediter vos ennemis plus que vos fidels ferviteurs, et puisque j'aye travaillé ſous tant des difficultés avant que de pouvoir conduire les affaires a tel point quelle fe trouvent a prefant, qu'on ne m'empeche de faire jouer la mine que

j'ay preparée au detriment du service ; ou si vostre Majesté nonobstant ce que j'ay tant de fois dit fur ce sujet, resolut de pretter l'oreille aux propositions mercenaires de ce Braidalbin, ou de quelque autre pour lui, qu'elle me pardonne de grace que je ne scaurois me resoudre de plus continuer mes services en Ecoffe, etant prêt d'estre employé le reste de la campagne partout ailleurs ou elle le trouvera bon ; mais jamais pour estre temoin tant a voir les effets que je me suis proposé de tant des veilles et des foins renversées, qu'a me voir, en même temps, exposé a la risée de ceux qui ne sont mes ennemis (n'ayant rien de particulier a demeler avec eux) que parce que je tache de servir vostre Majesté et l'interêt protestant fidellement, et sans m'attacher pour cultiver faveur de qui que ce soit aux factions, etant graces a Dieu agi d'un principe plus christienne et honorable que de me laisser emporter par des desseins mercenaires contre l'interêt du service, tellement que de faire un pas que je ne jugeasse y devoir contribuer. Le Comte d'Argyll, Sire, etant allarmé du depart clandestin de Braidalbin, et fort interesté dans le traité qui se doit conclure avec ses rebelles, va trouver vostre Majesté ; et comme j'apprehend que le Commissionnaire, pour ne manquer a son but de preferer toute autre voye de les reduire aux armes, proposera peut-estre d'employer ce premier. Mais je desaprouve cette maniere d'en venir a bout de qui quelle soit maniée, comme honteuse aux armes de vostre Majesté la necessité m'y obligeant pas, aussi bien qu'ineffectuel pour obtenir la fin qu'on pretend de l'en proposer, scavoir, le rétablissement de la paix. Je vous supplie, Sire, de pardonner cette liberté a une personne qui ne l'estoit engagé dans vos desseins glorieux, et tant necessaires pour le support de la verité chrétienne, que par un principe de conscience et de devoir qui seul l'y attache inviolablement comme estant, Sire, de vostre Majesté le tres-humble, tres-fidelle, et tres-obeissant Sujet et Serviteur, &c.

Instructions pour L'ADJUTANT-GENERAL HILL, du mois de Juin 1690.

Il representera au Roy, que fans renverser mes deffeins, et me rendre incapable de les poursuivre l'on ne peut pas tirer de ce royaume aucun des corps qui l'y trouvent a prefant, et que je ne scauroye dire pour quand que l'on les en pourra tirer que premierement je ne voye l'effat de la garnison d'Inderlochy, dont s'il plait a Dieu d'en faire bien reussir le deffein comme je l'espere, je ne manqueray pas d'en avertir d'abord sa Majesté.

Que je laisseray vers le sud du royaume a cause que Milord Com-missionnaire est fort aprehensif d'un soulevement les regiments de Cunningham et de Leven infanterie a l'entour d'Edinbourg avec la compagnie des gardes cavallerie, deux compagnies de cavallerie legere et une de dragons, et que j'y renvoyeray d'abord que j'auray joint Levington avec des troupes du nord, les six compagnies de Bevrish, et deux autres des dragons de Cardros, lesquelles troupes, avec le regiment dragons de Berklay sur les frontieres, auxquels j'ordonneray qu'on joigne les chevaux et dragons Ecoffois que je laisse dans cette parti meridionale du royaume, tiendront bien les malcontents en bride pendant mon absence, ou je souhaiterois que quelque un de service commanda en chef.

Jé donne au Maistre de Forbes, pour tenir en bride l'intervalle entre le sud et le nord, deux compagnies de cavallerie et trois des dragons de Cardros, avec ce qu'il peut assembler des gens du pais, tant a pied qu'a cheval.

Je formeray un petit corps volant de 14 a 1500 hommes, tant des troupes reglées que des gens du Milord Southerland, de Milord Reay, et du Laird de Balnagown, tout fort zellé et affectionné pour le service de leurs Majestés, et de la nature de nos ennemis, afin que quand j'entre dans leur pais d'un costé de deux grands lacs, ils ne tombent dans celluy de nos amis de l'autre.

J'y ay envoyé 1500 outils pour remuer la terre, avec 5000 grosses pallisades pour planter sur la contrefcarpe du fort d'abord qu'on l'aura tracé, au dedans de laquelle pallisade la garnison et pioniers pourront travailler en toute feureté a couvert de tous les efforts de cet ennemy, bien que le service du Roy m'obligeat de m'en retirer au bout de six jours pour tomber sur les bras a des ennemis qui se remueroient quelque autre part du royaume. Outre les fusillées troupes, j'ay 600 hommes en garnison a Indernes; 360 dans Blair d'Athol, maison appartenante au Marquis de ce nom; 80 de nos trois regiments de garnison dans une maison dans le haut du pais de Mar; quatre compagnies dans une maison appartenante au Comte de Braid-Albin, pour nous assurer de son pais; sept compagnies de Glenkairne en tres mechant estat a Perth, lequelles ont ordre de l'en retirer si quelque ennemy, beaucoup plus nombreux, l'en vint approcher, estant tout ouvert; et le regiment de Kenmore au passage de Stirling, avec deux compagnies dans le chateau de ce nom.

Je donne rendezvous a Sr Thomas Levinston avec son regiment, ceux de Milord Angus et de Grant avec deux compagnies de cavallerie dans Baidenoch, d'ou je n'auray que deux jours de marche a Inderlochy, d'abord que j'auray avis que mes vaissaux des vivres y auront joints Ferguson.

L'Adjutant-General fera voir au Roy par la carte que je luy ay pretée pour ce sujet, tout le pais ou j'auray a agir contre cet ennemy, et le chemin que je dois tenir de Perth ou St. Johnston, ou les troupes se trouvent a presant; le premier jour a Dunkelde, le seconde a Blair Athol ou j'ay garnison, le troisieme il faut loger sur la Bruyere, et le quatrieme a Ruthen en Baidenoch, ou je formeray mon corps et feray mes deſtachements de Ruthen a Garvie dans le haut de Baidenoch, de Garvie a Glenroy et Keppoch, demeure de infigne voleur de ce nom, qui fut le premier lequel joint Dundee aupres d'Indernes l'année paſſée, d'ou je le chaffay avec 4 a 500 hommes que j'avois pris avec moy fans deſſein de pouſſer jusques la; et de Keppoch a Inderlochy, ou je donneray rendezvous a Ferguson et les vaissaux de charge, pendant que les fregates a la reſerve

d'une pour escorter, bloquerons l'Isle de Mull, qui se voit aussi dans la carte a l'embouchure de la riviere de Lochy.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 8 Juin 1690.

MONSIEUR, Trouvant que Milord Commissionnaire l'oppiniafrant a toute outrance dans son dessein, déjà entamé par un certain Hill, qu'il emploie de traitter avec nos rebelles d'accommodelement en les achetant par argent, vient de depecher le Comte de Braid-Albin pour chercher avec une recommendation a sa Majesté pour quelle l'employe a faire reussir le dit dessein, je me trouve obligé de vous dire que ce n'est pas le service du Roy, ny le restablissement d'une paix durable dans le royaume qui le rendent si intentioné sur ce traitté, qui doit couter au Roy felon qu'on me le rapporte de la bouche de fusdit Hill 10,000 livres sterling ; mais a fin de pouvoir faire valoir a l'avantage de sa famille, et continuation de son ministere, l'estat ou ces rebelles se trouvent a presant reduits, tant par les vaisseaux et le parti que j'ay envoyé sur leur costé, que par les forces toutes prêtes a marcher que j'y dois mener en peu de jours, a fin qu'en prevenant l'effet de nos preparatifs pour faire place a cette autre maniere de venir a bout de ces rebelles, il se glorifie d'en avoir esté l'autheur, et Milord Tarbet le conseiller. Vous scavez, Monsieur, que c' estoit mon opinion l'année passée qu'on travaillat a les gaigner de cette maniere, et si on y avoit reussi, il auroit epargné au Roy 2000 livres sterling. Mais pour cette fois-cy, voyant qu'il y a moyen plus sur et honorable d'en venir a bout, et que je scay qu'il n'y a que la necessité qui fait rechercher cette voye a des gens qui ne voudroient jamais voir ce gouvernement establi qu'ils n'y trouvent leur interêt, je suis absolument d'une autre opinion, d'autant plus qu'il n'y a pas moyen de l'affurer de ces rebelles qu'en les mettant hors d'estat de nous nuire. Sachez donc, Monsieur, qu'ils se trouvent presfées, qu'ils craignent que nous ne prevenions les secours qu'ils attendent d'Irlande avec beaucoup de confiance ;

et quand même ce traitté reufliroit de la maniere que Milord Commissionnaire le propose, qu'on ne gaignera rien, si la garnison ne s'establit a Inderlochy. J'ay pris la liberté d'ecrire mon opinion la-deffus au Roy, et je trouve que tous mes arguments ont si peu d'impression sur l'esprit du Commissionnaire, que j'en suis meu de croire quelque autre chose semblable a ce que j'en viens de dire deffus plusstot qu'un pur dessein d'avancer le service; quoy qu'il en soit, je suis resolu de n'y plus servir si je voy que les projets des ennemis du Roy (car le Commissionnaire n'en est pas l'autheur) l'emporte par deffus tout ce que je puis representer pour soustenir la validité des miens dont j'ay randu mes raisons tout a plain au Roy. Si j'ay quelque mien dessein icy ce n'est que d'avoir bientost a fait a fin de tourner le dos a l'Ecoffe pour ne jamais la revoir plus. Le Comte d'Argyll est fort allarmé du depart de Braid-Albin, la plus part de ces rebelles estants ses vasseaux et luy retenans ses terres par force, si bien qu'il attand que par le traité qu'on concluroit avec eux il devroit estre consideré, quoy que je croy qu'il aimeroit mieux qu'on les domtaist par les armes. Ayant ecrit par l'Adjutant-General Hill une trop longue lettre, je ne veux pas tomber cette fois-cy dans la même faute, d'autant plus que j'ay ecrit au Roy tout ce que je voulois dire sur le sujet de cette conduite de ses ministres que je n'approuve pas, sechant que l'interêt de son service n'en est pas le principal but, mais me recommandant a l'honneur de vos bonnes graces, je suis, Monsieur, vostre tres-humble et tres, &c.

Lettre ecrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 26 Juillet 1690, de Perth.

MONSIEUR, Je n'ay reçeu celle dont vous m'avez honnoré du 4 courant qu'aujourd'huy, quoy qu'il y a 15 jours que nous reçeumes la nouvelle de la glorieuse victoire que nostre grand Roy a emportée par la grace singuliere de Dieu sur les ennemis de sa verité son nom soit éternellement bénit qu'y a sauvé d'un danger si eminent pour l'en servir comme d'un instrument choisy dans sa main toute puissante pour l'avance-

ment de sa gloire et elargissement du regne de son fils sur la terre. Le même jour que sa Majesté deffit l'armée Irlandoise, j'entray dans Lochaber par une fainte, avant que les ennemis qui m'attendoient a l'unique paillage de ce costé-la, qu'ils crurent praticable par de la cavallerie et baggage a cheval, en eussent la connoissance, et parceque vous avez la carte de ces hauts pais je vous enferay en bref le recit.

Le 21 de Juin, je partis avec environ 3000 tant cavallerie qu'infanterie de St. Johnfton, pouffant ce jour-la jusques a 4 miles au deffus de Dunkel, dans le pais d'Athol, pour faire croire aux ennemis que je prenois le chemin tout droit par Blair et Drumogelte a Badenoch ; mais trouvant qu'il y avoit par ce chemin des paillages difficiles gueres loins du pais ennemy, ou ils se pourroient rendre pour incommoder sans grand risque a eux, le lendemain je pris a droit par Strathardil, Glenfchie, Braemar, Strathdon et Strathavin joignant Levingfton le 27 dans Strathspey, pais du Laird de Grant, ou je reposay un jour. Le 29 j'avançay jusqu'a Ruthen en Badenoch ; le 30 j'avançay encore 6 miles jusqu'a Clunie, et ayant ordonné au gens du pais qu'on m'amenat des vaches pour l'armée a Garva, qui feroit le droit chemin au paillage ou les ennemis f'eftoient postés pour me le disputer, j'y pouffay quatre compagnies de chevaux et dragons comme l'avant garde, pour faire courre nouvelle que j'avançois par la vers le dit poste ennemy ; et ayant avancé trois miles de ce costé-la, je tournay teste foudain vers la gauche, et paillage par des hautes montaignes et marais jusques la impraticable aux troupes, et entraye par Glenspean. Ayant ordonné au parti que j'avois avancé pour les amuser de joindre m'arriere garde, dont les ennemis ayant eu avertissement, se separerent chacun chez foy pour retirer ses bestiaux, ou confisfe leur richesse, dans les bois et forêts ; et comme mon dessein n'eftoit que de batir vitemment le fort, pour puis apres m'en retourner au plusftôt, je marchay sans m'amuser a chercher leurs cachettes, et sans autres materiaux que la pele et besche, en onze jours de temps fort pluvieux, j'ay eslevé un fort qui deffiera tous les montaignards d'Ecoffe, et l'ay laissé pourveu des vivres et munitions de guerre asse pour donner du temps au gouverne-

ment d'y envoyer par mer le secours nécessaire, et a mon retour laissay en passant une garnison a Ruthen en Badenoch, avec ordre au commandant de l'y fortifier d'avantage ne voulant point me trop areter pour ne pas manquer des vivres, et ne feachant comment les affaires alloient au sud n'y en Angleterre. Je trouve que Buchan et Canon, pendant l'absence des troupes, ont ramassés quelques chevaux ensemble au nombre d'environ 200 tels que si avec quelques centaines de montaignards du shire de Perth ; mais pour ceux de Lochaber, je suis assuré qu'il n'en fortira guere d'avantage de leur pais. Comme je ne fais que fortir des hauts pais, je n'ay pas encore nouvelle assurée des dits Buchan et Canon, quoy qu'on dise qu'ils ne sont guere loin de Stirling, mais j'ay envoyée des espions de leur costé ; je crois marcher demain de ce costé-la bien que fort mal fourni de vivres et d'argent, ce gouvernement cy n'ayant nul soin de ses choses nécessaires. J'ay a present dans le sud nos trois régiments entiers, celluy de Leslie, et neuf compagnies fort faibles d'Argyll et autant d'Angus, les autres quatre de chacun ayant été laissées a Inverlochy, nommé Fort William, avec neuf compagnies de Grant, et deux cent montaignards, qui se sont déjà mis au folde du Roy. Il y a encore le régiment de Leven et Cunningham ; ceux de Glencairn et de Kenmore ne valent pas grand chose, je ferois d'avis que le Roy le donnat a Buchan qui mérite bien qu'on le considere, soit pour la connoissance du métier ou affection pour le service de sa Majesté, et qu'on en laissat le surplus des compagnies dans les garnisons, ou elles se trouvent a présent comme indépendantes tant qu'on en aura besoin ; car autrement le Roy n'en tirera jamais aucun service, et en cas que Buchan fera accommodé de cette manière, je voudrois avoir mon lieutenant-colonel, qui n'est pas dans la meilleure intelligence avec mes capitaines changé dans le régiment de Ramsay, et que mon neveu, Major de Levington, eut ma lieutenance colonelle, lequel a rendu bon service au Roy, n'ayant joint avec quatre cent montaignards de gens de sa famille hardis et bien faits, sans lesquels nous aurions eu difficulté de subsister a Lochaber, aussi bien que de faire de bons partis, nos gens presque toutes armées, n'y étant pas si propres dans ces sortes de terrains.

Je viens de recevoir avis que Buchan et Canon, allarmés de mon retour, se retirent dans hauts pais, et comme le principal de nos soins sera d'ores-avant tenir l'oeil sur l'Angleterre pendant l'absence du Roy, je suis d'avis de ne pas m'amufer a poursuivre a petit parti par les montagnes et forêts, dont les troupes se ruineroient, aussy ne feroit il pas pratiqueable faute des vivres ; mais si j'aprends qu'ils prendront le chemin du nord, je detacheray quelques compagnies de chevaux et dragons Ecoffois pour renforcer celles que j'y ay laiffées, pour de cette maniere les refferrer dans leurs montagnes, jusqu'a ce que le mauvais temps leur fasse tout quitter prise. J'auray de quoy former un corps de 7000 hommes, tant cavallerie que dragons et infanterie, de fort bonnes troupes au fud. Nos trois regiments, avec ceux de Leslie et de Leven, estants en fort bon estat, celluy de Cunningham passablement bon, et le regiment de Levingston un des meilleurs du service. Nostre cavallerie passe contre un tel ennemy, mais elle feroit trop legere contre une bonne. Les hommes sont de bonne mine, et feroient montés comme ils sont et armés de longues armes de bons dragons ; mais ils auroient besoin de quelque changement d'officiers. Je vous remercie, Monsieur, du relas que vous m'avez envoyé du combat, et de l'estat de la santé du Roy. Dieu la luy conserver pour long temps, a la gloire de son nom et consolation de tous fidelles protestans, dont l'exemple de ses vertus royalles et Chrétiennes fera, comme j'espere croistre le nombre dans ses royaumes, autant que les vices de ses ancesstres au throne, l'ont fait diminuer. Je vous remercie, Monsieur, de l'affurance que vous avez le bonté de me donner de vostre estime, vous assurant en sincerité que personne n'est plus que moy, Monsieur, vostre tres-humble et tres-obeissant Serviteur, &c.

Lettre ecrite au COMTE DE PORTLAND.

MONSIEUR, Je suis tellement persuadé des grandes occupations de vos moments, que je ne voudrois pas en interompre le cours par mes lettres,

si ce n'estoit que pour le même interêt et service. Depuis que j'ay sceu que le Roy resolut de ne pas permetre que je bougeasse d'icy de tout l'hyver, j'avois commancé a former le dessein d'en appaifer les troubles de bonne heure, a cause que je le confiderois a grand charge et empêchement au service de sa Majesté d'y depenser tant d'argent, et employer tant de troupes ; et voyant se couver une division qui alloit dechirer le parti qui des le commencement se declara pour leurs Majestés, je le crus de mon devoir d'avertir la cour de ce que j'en descouvrois felon mon jugement, et les suites naturelles que je m'en figurois de ces divisions, scavoir, un grand desordre parmi des troupes sans subfiance, des factions qui empêcheroient l'establissement du gouvernement dans le Parlement et un peuple irrité, les uns doubtants de l'establissement de ce qu'ils souhaitoient uniquement, scavoir, leur culte d'Eglise, et les autres par la foule des troupes qui ne subfistoient que de ce qu'elles en prenoient bon gré ou mal gré ; et le tout aboutissant a fortifier la rebellion formée dans le pais, et a servir de fondement aux desseins des ennemis irreconciliables du regne de leurs Majestés. Vous scavez, Monsieur, ce qui j'ay avancé sur ce sujet, et me perfuade, quoy que la providance divine nous a detournés des desordres, que toutes ses confusions auroyent naturellement peu produire que les conseils de ceux qui portoient le Roy a deserer l'assembllement du Parlement fentoient plus leurs propres interêts que son vray service et le repos de ses estats ; car il n'y a aucun doute que moyenant la même condescension que je vois a prefant le Roy n'est reçeu du Parlement, il y a fix mois ce qu'il en recevera a prefant, ce qui aura mis les affaires sur un autre pied qu'elles ne se trouvent ; car la rebellion en auroit déjà esté esteinte, les coffres du Roy espargnées, et la plus part des troupes auroyent pu estre employée ailleurs. Mais voyans que mes avertissements ne trouvoient point de credit, je tournay mes pensées du costé des ennemis pour mediter le moyen de faire des tels progres contre eux de bonne heure, qui eussent le même effet, et puist rendre le Parlement de meilleur humeur ; voyant les affaires du Roy l'avancans sans son secours, et proposay quelque vaiffeau de guerre, des armes, et un fort

mediocre homme d'argent, pour faire les preparations necessaires pour attaquer les ennemis par mer au mois d'Avril, et etablir un poste a Inderlochy. Mais ne pouvant tirer aucun resolution de la cour sur mes propositions, et ne voulant paffer le temps et laisser approcher la saifon sans rien faire, je communiquay mes penfées a une comitté du conseil, laquelle jugeant que le thresor n'en pourroit pas survenir aux fraix, entreprit de fournir a un detachement de bord les hommes feullement que j'ay propose d'envoyer avec les fregates. Puisque je voyois l'autre dessein se trouvant renversée, jugeant que ce detachement feroit une telle diversion des forces qu'elle ne pourroit pas tous incurser tout le plat pais, ny fortir si fort en campagne avant que nous fussions prets, que de nous attirer vers eux, et nous divertir par la du dessein d'establir une garnison a Inderlochy ; mais tout ce que j'ay pu faire depuis que les fregates sont venues, et quelques semaines auparavant ne les a pu depecher jusqu'a hier, et a cette heure que nous devions marcher, en même temps, pour agir de conserf, nous voicy arretés faute des subsfance pour les troupes, et les ennemis ont le temps de reprendre cœur apres l'esfchec qu'ils ont reçeu depuis peu. J'ay peur que nos trois regiments ne foyent les premiers qui se defassent, parcequ'ils sont accoutumés d'estre bien payés, et a present qu'on les tient en corps pour marcher d'abord qu'on entendra, des mouvements ennemis, ils ne peuvent sans argent ou provision. Les 7500 livres sterling, dont vous, Monsieur, ecrivez, je n'en ay rien apris, non plus que de l'argent pour nos regimens, et Milord Commissionnaire fait distribuer la plus part de 4000 livres sterling, que Van der Esch m'avoit envoyé, pour souvenir aux fraix de la campagne aux troupes Ecoffloises, si bien qu'il faut que je demeure miserablement les bras croiffes, ou que j'expose les troupes a la faim. J'aprehende que Milord Tarbot n'aye trop d'influence sur l'esprit de Milord Commissionnaire, et que le dessein de renverser mes desseins ne provienne de la, si le service n'en patiffoit a même temps, je m'en soucierois d'autant moins que j'en aye ecrite au Roy. Je vous prie, Monsieur, l'il n'y a pas dessein de perdre ses trois regiments qu'on trouve moyen de leur faire payer l'arriereage, car c'est

impossible de subsister icy a credit. J'ay signé pour 1000 livres sterling pour mon regiment ; mais veu que la folde tarde a venir, et que je n'ay pas des biens considerables dans ce pais, ils ne veulent plus m'en crediter. J'ay aussi fait subsister une compagnie de 100 hommes, que j'avois pris, il y a un an, a la folde du Roy, des montaignards de nostre pais les ayant continues dans leurs propres habits pour estre plus dispos ; c'est la compagnie dont Levinston parle dans sa lettre, laquelle a subsisté a mes depans depuis fix mois. Je suis faché, Monsieur, qu'on ne mette quelque marque d'estime sur le Maistre de Forbes, on luy auroit pu donner un commission de lieutenant-colonel jufques a ce que le Roy eut occasion de faire quelque autre chose pour luy, car en effet il l'est signalisé par dessus tous les Lords d'Ecosse ; mais il a des ennemis parce que j'espouse ses interêts. Le Commissionnaire avoit promis qu'il l'auroit, mais Tarbet luy chifle a l'oreille. C'estoit un abus que les gens de Grant avoient joints les rebelles, au contraire c'estoit que Levinston eut les meilleurs avis. Je suis, Monsieur, &c.

Je croy que je pourray hasarder de vous envoyer ces remarques que j'envoye ce jointe. Si vous y trouvez quelque chose qui soit digne de la confideration de sa Majesté, vous les luy pourrez montrer, car les premiers pas qu'un prince fait dans le commencement de son gouvernement sont de consequence, tout le monde jugeant de la ce qu'il doit attendre de la suite.

1. Si tels conseils qui tendent a infister sur des prerogatives qui ont fourni matiere de grevance au peuple durant les regnes precedans ne sont contre la véritable intérêt de sa Majesté, qu'y confiste a regner dans le cœur de son peuple, et tellement remouver tout sujet de jaloufie que rien de ce côté-là n'empêche ses plus grands et dignes desseins d'ailleurs.

2. Si l'on peut juger que des personnes qui conseilleroient au Roy de faire quelques defmarches au commencement de son regne qui sentissent ou parussent aprocher la conduite des derniers roys, et de leurs ministres

quant au deffein de l'arbitration plutot que de desmordre de leur pretention au maniement des affaires, n'ont plus d'egard a leur propre interêt qu'au ferme establissement du gouvernement de sa Majesté.

3. Si sa Majesté, en complimentant l'Ecoffe quant a quelques loix et coütumes introduittes depuis que la cour a formés des defféins auxquells elle n'auroit jamais pu parvenir, comme l'on soutient, qu'en foulant au pied les anciens privileges et droits du peuple ne se la rendroit plus utile a tous ses autres grands defféins qu'en les voulant maintenir, exciter la jaloufie de cette nation.

4. Puis que le gouvernement d'Eglise exempt de ceremonies superstitieuses est une chose indifferante au jugement de beaucoup de bons Protestans, et qu'il est constant qu'en Ecoffe la plus part est pour le Presbiterien, hormis une partie de la noblesse, quy n'est Episcopale, que par des esgards d'interêt purement temporel, si l'inclination du peuple ne doit estre la regle de ce point, ou la doctrine de salut, n'est nullement interessé, veu qu'un culte forceé n'edefie jamais les ames.

5. La partie meridionale d'Ecoffe, comme estant du tout attaché au presbiterienisme, (outre quelle est bien peuplée se trouve a presant armée et dans une espece de discipline), parce que ses gens estoient les seuls a peu pres sur lesquels l'on pouvoit faire estat au commencement du changement qui l'est fait, l'il ne me semble plus pour le repos du royaume de les gratifier de ce point indifferant, que de les perdre pour gaigner le parti contraire, quy a deja fait tout le mal dont il estoit capable, estant comme j'espere aux abois, et aparament se contentera, pourveu qu'on le mette a couvert des ressentimens de l'autre.

Lettre ecrite au Roy peu de temps apres le conſtruction du Fort William.

SIRE, J'aye depeché l'Adjutant-General Hill pour informer voſtre Majesté de l'estat de la guerre icy, et de ce que par l'affiance divine l'est avancé pendant cette campagne pour l'establissement de la paix de

ce royaume quoy que traversé, par tant des ennemis de son heureux gouvernement que de ceux quy en ont la principale direction, lesquels felon que j'ay pu remarquer tachoient de rendre inefficaces tous mes travaux, aussy bien qu'ils decrioient tout ce que je faisois, temoin le peu de foin qu'on prend de secourir des choses necessaires le fort que j'ai baty en Lochaber, appellé de son nom royal, comme la lettre du gouverneur le fait voir. J'avois proposée une personne de credit et d'honneur pour ne pas manquer a ses engagemens, et d'affection pour avancer fidelement le service de vostre Majesté, et quy l'avoit excercée dignement l'anné passée pour la charge de commissaire des vivres ; mais parce qu'elle y fut établie par le Duc d'Hamilton, et par une creature de ce ministre la proposition en fut rejetée, et par la je perdis au moins deux mois de temps avant que je pus porter le Commissaire a en établir du tout parmy eux, et étant établis sont tels dont l'ignorance et nonchalance, outre ce que le gouverneur du fort William dit de l'un, m'ont fourny assez d'embarras pour la suffisance des troupes, et sujet de plaintes au pais dont il les falloit prendre quand les mesures publiques y manquaient.

Enfin, Sire, par les desmarches de ceux ausquels vostre Majesté fie la principale direction de ce royaume, j'aprehende qu'il ne f'y trouvera qu'eux et leurs creatures, lesquels, selon le bruit commun, luy rendent cher leur service, quy l'efforceront d'avancer de bon cœur son service dans ce pais, tant ils en degoutent toute le monde par leur conduite.

Je suis fort persuadé, Sire, que ce n'est pas tant le retour d'un prince, confit a ce papisme et imbue des principes incompatibles avec ce que naturellement tout honime (hormis les esclaves de l'imposture) estime tant, scavoir, la liberté temporelle et spirituelle, que les mècontents de ce royaume cherchent, mais plutot de troubler le regne de vostre Majesté pour luy faire voir combien peu luy vaut au besoin le credit de ceux qu'elle emploie. Il est vray, Sire, qu'il seroit fort a souhaitter qu'on servit une cause si juste et sainte par des principes plus chrétiennes ; mais si l'Ecoffe, selon mon opinion, fans faire breche a la charité ne peut

guere fournir de cette trempe, et qu'il faille necessairement que vostre Majesté y soit servie des personnes qui feront marcher leur propre intérêt de pair avec celluy de son service, qu'elle ayt la bonté de pardonner que je suis d'opinion que ce fuist plutot des personnes de credit dans le royaume, et qui feroient honneur a leur charactere que de tels qu'y de le propre credit ne feroient pas capables de monter vingt chevaux a leur dos. Cecy soit dit avec profonde foubmission au jugement de vostre Majesté, le zelle pour son service, pour l'intérêt du protestantisme m'arachant, malgré moy, ces propos de la bouche, contre la resolution que j'avois souvent formé de m'en taire, trouvant que ce que j'en avois avancé de temps en temps auparavant trouva si peu de credit, quoy que tout bien conté. Si j'avois le jugement si éclairé, mon temoignage en meriteroit autant que d'aucun autre, et d'autant plus que je ne me proposois rien pour moy ni aucun mien par le changement. Quand vostre Majesté donc aura des informations plus particulières d'autres avis, elle pourra, si elle le juge de son service faire reflexion sur ce que luy en dit une personne qui, devant Dieu, n'y prend point d'autre intérêt que celluy de son service, et le repos de ce royaume, aussi bien que de ses autres estats, en forte que dorenavant elle emploie ses armes non pas tant pour y affermir son gouvernement, mais plutot pour ébranler et renverser les colonnes de l'impétueuse antichrétienneté.

Sire, Je prens la liberté, avec profonde foubmission, de vous recommander mon neveu, Major de Livingston. Elle fait que la lieutenance-collonelle de ce régiment luy estoit due, premierement, parce qu'elle la luy decerna pour les preuves de zelle et d'affection qu'il avoit donné pour son service, par une longue et rude prison, plutot que de vouloir l'engager contre les intérêts de vostre Majesté, étant mal informé de ce traitre de Livingston, que je croiois plus capable de disposer les dragons au service, ayant servy quelques années parmy eux que mon neveu, qui leur estoit jusques la étranger ; et, en seconde lieu, lorsque cette charge vaqua par la trahison du dit Livingston depuis ce temps la. Sire, tant

Pen faut qu'il ait fait quelque chose pour moindrir la consideration de vostre Majesté pour luy, qu'au contraire il n'y a pas un sujet en Ecoffe quy luy a rendu plus de service, quant a agir contre ses ennemis, non feullement d'avec le regiment ou il a données des preuves de son courage et differetion, tant aux oceasions qu'en travaillant avec bon succés pour gaigner l'affection des dragons pour son service, mais aussi en armant aussi souvent qu'il en recevoit mes ordres depuis que je suis icy, les gens de son pais, pour oposer les ennemis, et venir a mon secours lorsque j'en avois bien besoin, même a l'expedition de Lochaber, ou il mena 400 hommes, montaignards des mieux, faits et appointés de tout le royaume, et quy me furent si utiles que les troupes manquant de vivres auroient est reduittes a des grandes extremités sans eux, outre qu'ils me servirent luy a leur teste de grande feureté a la marche pour faire la decouverte dans ces pais plains des passages et defilles inaccesibles a nos gens pesamment armées et habillies. Enfin, Sire, si je ne le reconnoissois personne de discretion, de courage, et d'affection inesbranlable pour le service de vostre Majesté, temoin d'avoir persisté tant dans son zelle pour l'avancer, même depuis qu'on luy a donnée cette espreuve un peu mortifiante pour une jeunesse generueuse que d'avancer un autre peu doué pour cette charge a ce qu'il pretendoit de droit, aussi bien que de qualité et d'interêt dans le pais assez pour meriter sa faveur royalle, je n'en aurois pas ouvert la bouche.

Le porteur est aussi une personne fort capable de servir vostre Majesté dans ce pais, en ayant atteint d'assez justes idées par tout depuis qu'il me fert d'afflstant, et furtout il seroit propre pour les dragons, ayant servi long temps parmi la cavallerie, et entendant, en même temps, ce quy est necessaire de l'infanterie. Et comme le bien du service m'oblige de luy representer ceux quy en sont capables et si attachent avec zelle, le Lieutenant-Colonel Buchan merit que vostre Majesté luy donne une meilleure poste, et Ferguson seroit bien plus capable de commander le regiment de Lauder que Balfour, s'il y avoit moyen d'accommoder

celluy-cy autrement qui ne pourra guere plus fuporter les fatigues de la campagne, etant incommode d'un mal qui semble incurable depuis sa prifon.

J'ay envoyé au Comte de Portland un racourci de ce qui s'est paffé icy depuis le paffage de vostre Majesté en Irelande, et l'ay prié de m'obtenir de sa bonté royalle congé de passer cet hyver en Hollande aupres de ma petite famille, dont je suis separé a prefant deux ans paffés. Le Collonel Livingston s'est aquis plus de connoiffance de ce service que Ramsay, l'ayant employé beaucoup de temps pour commander les troupes au nord en mon absance, quoy que tous deux de fort bons officiers, et zelles pour son service fans aucun biais, mais comme le premier est tellement abattu d'une maladie qu'il gaigna en Lochaber que difficilement il en echapera, et qu'au mieux aller il ne fera de tout cet hyver en etat de vaquer au service, je feray d'avis que vostre Majesté deferaist le commandement a Ramsay avec brevet de brigadier, etant le premier collonel de service icy. Si vostre Majesté aura le bonté, comme je n'en puis pas douter, de me donner le dit congé, je luy laisseray des instructions generales pour la direction, avec copies de mes ordres, dont il sera instruit de mes methodes felon la nature de cette guerre, dont j'espere que les plus grandes difficultés sont paffés.

Sire, il y a quelques jours qu'estans au pais d'Atholl, j'y rencontray le Marquis de ce nom. Il tachoit de l'excuser de tout cedont je suis pectoist sa conduite de l'année paffée, rejettant le tout sur l'infidelité d'un sien Bailly, auquel il avoit fié le commandement de son pais; mais quoy qu'il en soit, Sire, je trouve qu'il feroit d'importance au service de vostre Majesté qu'on l'y attaschat tout de bon, etant capable tant des ses propres vaffaux estimées des plus braves de tous les montaignards d'Ecoffe que de la famille de Lovet son gendre, sur lesquels il auroit influence d'atirer de son costé pres de 3000 montaignards qui vaudroit plus a vostre Majesté que trois regiments de nouvelles levées; si bien que si cette conquête se pouvoit faire a raison d'une honnête pen-

tion, elle apporteroit une grande feureté a ces affairs icy, et feroit un coup mortel au desseins montaignards. Or, en cas que vostre Majesté goute cet avis, il faudroit le mander aupres d'elle, veu que je ne voy pas qu'il pense d'y aller, non plus que le Duc d'Hamilton felon qu'on me dit, n'ayant pas veu celluy-cy depuis mon retour du nord. J'ay peu d'ajouter d'avantage a celle-cy, qui n'est que trop longue déjà, mais son service l'excusera, reservera donc le reste a un memoire que je donneray a Hill.

J'imploreray le souverain Roy des roys et le grand Dieu des armées qu'il conserve la personne sacrée de vostre Majesté comme un autre Josué fuscité par sa providance divine si opportunement comme a point nommé pour la desliverance de son Israel, proscript et destiné a ruyne par les ennemis de sa verité, et fasse suivre a ces armes cette glorieuse campagne de tant d'autres, que la besté et tous ceux qu'y luy preffent leur puissance soient portés par terre, qui feront toujours les fidelles pierres de celluy qui fera toute sa vie, malgré tous les efforts des enfers, Sire, de vostre Majesté, &c.

Si vostre Majesté n'avoit d'autres affaires sur les bras que le soin de ses propres estats, il y auroit moyen de dompter tous mescontans et rebelles, et de tenir bridés par des garnisons et nombres des troupes; mais puisque toute l'Europe protestante ne respire que l'heureux moment de la voir en repos chez elle, a fin de pouvoir tourner au plus fort ses armes du costé de sa deliverance, il feroit a souhaitter que ces troubles domestiques l'appaissassent tellement que jamais l'envie ne revienne plus a ces rebelles de reprendre les armes contre son autorité, quand même l'occasion s'en presentat favorable; et pour y parvenir il n'y auroit point de plus effectuel moyen que d'en commencer le dessein par Milord Athol, lequel pourroit servir d'outil outille pour gaigner les autres, car les travaux de cet esté les y disposent, aussy bien qu'ils ont establi la reputation de ces armes parmi eux, en forte que tout ce que vostre Majesté voudroit consentir en leur faveur a prefant fera tenu comme des effets de sa pure bonté royalle.

Lettre au COMTE DE PORTLAND, le 4 Novembre 1690, d'Edinbourg.

MONSIEUR, Par la vostre du 25 du paſſée vous me mendattes que le Roy m'avoit accordé mon congé pour l'aller trouver a Londres, et me fites esperer de pouvoir paſſer l'hyver en Hollande, me promettant, en même temps, d'envoyer au premier une commission pour celluy qui doit commander les troupes icy, et puisque vous me nommastes Monsieur Sir Thomas Livingston comme la perſonne destinée pour cett employe, et que Ramsay l'en eſtant allarmé l'en va avec moy a Londres, et que d'abondant Milord Craford me dit que le boite noire fut rompue la dernière fois, feavoir, les lettres du 30 paſſé apprehendant que mes dépeches n'en fuſſent etées, je fuis resolu d'attendre les lettres du prenier courant, et puis l'il n'en vient point, je conclus que mes lettres ont eſté interceptées, et m'en iray avec le Colonel Ramſay, pour laiſſer Livingston au commandement felon le deſſein du Roy. Je fais cecy, Monsieur, pour ne pas manquer l'occation du paſſage du Roy en Hollande, eſtant perſuadé qu'il aura resolu des affaires de ce royaume avant que je puifle eſtre a Londres, dont je n'auray point d'autre regret que celluy du ſervice de fa Majefté, qui ſe trouve a prefant en fort bon train, et apparemment continueroit de même, pourveu que le Roy tombat fur un bon choix de personnes deſinées et cherchant l'avancement du ſervice plus que de leurs familles pour l'administration de ce pais, qui eſt plus capable de mal que de bien. Ceux qui ne ſe forment pas des idées aſſez advantageuſes de leur deliverance du papifme crient tout haut qu'on eſt plus foulé par les miniftres qu'on n'a jamais eſté par leurs predeceſſeurs, voicy les cris comuns, je puis dire en gros que tout ce que le Roy a reçeu encore pour toutes les conſeſſions au Parlement, ne monte qu'a deux mois de gage de huit qu'on conte depuis le commencement de cette dernière cefſion du dit Parlement pour les troupes foldoyés en Ecoſſe, et environ peut-eſtre ſept a huit milles livres ſterling qu'on dit que le Fort William aura couté en louage des vaiffeaux,

planches, et autres materieaux, et au lieu de payer l'armé, ainsy qu'on l'appelle, elle est fix mois en arriere plus a prefant qu'elle n'estoit au mois de Mars, dont le pais fait bien du bruit, ayant payé tout ce qu'on lui demanda, et toutes fois se trouvant toujours foulé des troupes fans payes. Je le juge, Monsieur, de mon devoir de vous avertir de ces choses, dont ceux qui voudront faire valoir leurs services auront garde de faire mention, et ce que j'en dis tant peut l'affirmer que ce n'est pas malice, mais pour qu'on l'examine, et remedie a l'avenir. Esperant donc l'honneur de vous voir bientot, je suis, Monsieur, vostre tres-humble et tres-obéissant Serviteur, &c.

Par ma derniere je vous ay mandé ce que j'avois decouvert du sujet du parti qui croit avoir donné tant de preuves d'affection et fidelité au service de leurs Majestés qu'il n'y a aucun lieu d'en douter, et quand vous feaurez, Monsieur, que je n'ay nul autre egard en vous avertifiant de ce qu'y parvient a ma connoissance, et que je croy de l'interêt de sa Majesté quelle le scache que le bien de son service, et le desir de voir tout en repos dans ces royaumes, a fin qu'eftant debarassé des troubles domestiques, elle ayt le moyen de travailler a la deliverance de l'eglise de celluy qui lui en a réservé la gloire, comme j'espere. Vous serez facilement persuadé que tout ce que je dis sur ce sujet est tout a fait degagée d'aucune partialité ou regard propre ou particulière, car je prens hardiment Dieu a temoin que je ne voudrois pas consentir de propos deliberé a rien qui fuit prejudicable au ferme etablissement du gouvernement de leurs Majestés et de la vraye religion, pour les plus grands avantages que je me puise figurer au monde. Apres ces protestations, donné d'un cœur qui ne voudroit pas se rendre coupable d'une dissimulation si criminelle, je croy qu'on ne tiendra pas pour suspect ce que j'en ecris.

APPENDIX.

LETTERS RELATIVE TO MILITARY AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND IN THE YEARS 1689 & 1690.

1. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE KING FOR MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

You are to command our forces that are to be in Scotland, and you shall take the advice and assistance of the Lord Melvill, to whom Wee have given instructions to that effect.

You shall strengthen the regiments sent from hence for Scotland to number of marching foot in each company ; and if you finde necessity, you shall levey more regiments ; and if the occasions that may occur admitt not of a delay, you shall give commissions to officers that are to levey or command them.

If the Castle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former orders, you shall treat for the rendering of it ; and if you finde need, you shall give assurance of indemnity to the Duke of Gordon, Lev^t Collonell Windrome, and to whom Wee have already sent passes and protections ; and you shall give such other gratifications to such as you see convenient, that the Castle may be put in the hands of confident persons, both commander and fouldiers. You shall doe the like for the Castle of Dunbarton.

If you finde that there will be a formed party against the kingdome and our interest, or a breach, or ane invasion, you shall secure such persons as shall be the cheif movers therin, and ceafe upon serviceable horses and armes, and shall call to your assistance all the well affected to religion, liberty, our interest, and the Nations safety.

2. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE KING FOR THE LORD MELVILL.

YOU are to concurr in advice and direction in matters of war with the Commander in Cheife of our forces, in ordering these that are levyed, or in levying more if it be founde convenient; and if the occasions may not admitt of delay, that he, with your advice, give commissions to the officers who shall levey or command them.

If there be necessity to secure persons, that the Commander in Cheif doe the same with your advice.

If the Castle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former letters, you shall treat for the rendering of it, and give assurance of indemnity, if need bee, and such other gratifications, to the Duke of Gordon and others, as you shall see fit; and that you doe the like as to the Castle of Dumbarton, and that you put these Castles in the hands of confident persons both as to commanders and fouldiers.

If you finde that there will be a formed party, or a breach, or ane invasion, the Commander in Cheif, with your advice, shall ceafe upon serviceable horses and armes, as you see necessary for the publick safety; and in that case, that he call all such as you know to be well affected to religion and liberty, and to the interest of the Nation, to concurr with him in arms. Given at our Court at Hampton this 7th day of March 168 $\frac{2}{3}$.

WILLIAM R.

3. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 1 June 1689.

This morning I received the incloſed from General M'Kay, and did communicate it to the Lords of the Privie Counſell, who advised the ſending of it by a flying packet to your Lordſhip to be communicate to his Majeftie, and likeways refolved on ſecurreing in priſon the Lords Tarbat and Lovat; for on what the General Major has write, they thought they could do no les. Wee all conclude His Majeftie has aſurned the Parliament, haueing had no direcſions about it, and the Members cerτenly beleiveing his Majeftie wold grant the deſire of their letter. I beleive very few will be here the 5 of June. This morning a ſerjeant, a corporall, and the 3 foldiers made their escape out of the Caſtle; they inform that garifon is in good condition ſtill, and that the bombs had done little hurt there, but ſpoiled the roome where the Registers lays, and prejudged them. All our new troops are ordered to march into Perthſhire to be nearer the orders and derecſions of the Major Generalls Mackay and Laneir, the laſt being now at Perth.—I am, your Lordſhip's moſt humble ſervant,

HAMILTON.

4. [LORD MURRAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.]

Blair, June 4, 1689, 12 at Night.

May it please your Grace,

Having writt in my laſt that I intended to goe out of this country yesterdaу, I think fitt to acquaint your Grace that I flaide, on information that Dundee was marching this way to meet the party commanded by Ramsay, which, if he doe before they joine M^kkai, I am afraid it goe hard

with them, and if Dundee gett the better, its too probable that many in this country, as well as in other places, woud run in to him, tho it were for nothing els but in hopes of plundering, to hinder which, and to stop Dundee's passage if he shoud attempt to make a retreat thro this country, has made me stay and conveen the country about for that end, which is thought no small matter, confiddering the humours I found them in: above 300 of the best men in Atholl had tryfted to joine Dundee that day I came here, having been constantly invited to it by many agents; particularly the Laird of Streuan had receaved a letter from Dundee requiring him to joine him (having commision as the King's Lieutenant Genneral) with all his men and clan; accordingly he had advertised his own men, and had used his endeavour to gett also many of my fathers that were of his name to doe the same who were too far ingaged in it, but so soon as I came to the country I wrigg to him that I was informed that he had used his endeavours to entice my father's men from their master's service, which if he did not immediatly come and disown he might expect I woud treat him as such bye methods deserved; on which he is come here, and having promised never to offer to take any such methods hereafter, but to joine himself and his men with me and my father's, which he has now done, and so I have passed it over, as I was forced to doe with many others that were too farr engaged, otherwise they had generally broke away, but now I think I may say they will not, without it be here and there some loose men that have nothing to lose out of hopes of plunder; I have also engaged the lairds of Weem, Ashuntily, and Glenlyon and Faschly to joine with the Atholl men, which they are all very well satisfied to doe, for they can gett them much sooner to take that cours then any other, and they were all breaking out to Dundee, and only waited till the Atholl men went, for here the weaker dare not take conterar courses to the stronger leaft they shoud deftroy their goods and country; this is so true that I am certainly informed that our neighbours, the Badenoch men, tho they belong to the Duke of Gordon, woud never rise with Dundee, tho he has been all this while in their country for fear of the Atholl

men, who, if they shoulde not joine too, woud destroy their country when they were away, so that Dundee has been forced to burn their houses and take their goods ; to save which some are gone to him, but the most part have not, but are now lying in the mountains with wives and children in a most pitifull condition, and that country is quite ruined. My Lord Dundee is still there, not farr from the Castle of Ruthven, which he has burnt, and the small garison was put in it by M^kkai, did furrender, their lives being saved ; M^kkai, and he were within 2 miles yesterday morning, M^kkai always retiring as he advanced towards, and encamping in strong ground, so that Dundee could never attack ; it seems M^kkai has been waiting for more forces, which I doubt not but will now have joined him, or els Dundee has mett with the party went this way. I expect to heare an accompt every hour, having sent several to wait Dundee's motions leaft he surprise this country againe ; if he be far from it I intend, if please God, to goe from this to-morrow after I have setteld a garison here. I had sent for some of the chief men in my interest in Balquhidder to be here this day, who I was informed had been tampered with to make them rise with Perth's men, but they have engaged the conterar, but assures me that a Chamberlain of the Earle of Perth's, called Creichton, went privatly thro his interest, in Strathern, above Drummond, taken a particular lift with the officer of all the fencible men in it ; your grace shall have the first certain accompt I gett if they engadge, by an exprefs.

5. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 8 June 1689.

YEASTERNIGHT I received your lordships of the 4th instant, with one to Generall Major Mackay, I did the same night send one to the west to dispatch some to Irland for intelligence, and write tuo severall ways to the captans of our shippes to go to the coast of Irland to cruze there, and give the best account they could if there was any appearance of an inva-

tion from thence, which, I am confident, there is little fears of, iff itt be not by the French fleet, and it's very strange if they can be able to come to our coasts and land men, if there be an English and Dutch fleet att sea as you write, but if they shoulde be able to land any considerable force wee shoulde be in an ill condition, considering how disafeeted all the north is, and if wee shoulde abfolutly with all his forces recall Mackay befor he disipats or beats Dundee, all that countrey generally, lowlands as well as highlands, wold be in arms with him, so, upon communicating your letter to the Councill this morning, they thought it not fitt abfolutly to recall him, but leave it much to himself, and desired him to fend any of the English horse that is with him to the west countrey, where they can be best provided with horse meat, and most of our ouen new leveyed horse wee intend shoulde go there also, and some regiments of our foot lays there and about Stirling, the rest being in S^r Johnston, Dundie, and about this place, beforde what is with Mackay, from whom wee have not heard fince what I fent you. The incloſed from my Lord Murray being the last newes wee have, which when you peruse itt, you will fee he has done the king good service in these countries; I have likewise fent you a letter directed to your son, all I can ad to itt is, that he is a very notable boy broght itt, and says Londondery was in a good condition when he came away to hold out for some time, but the letter I fent you from Captain Rooke is fince he came away. I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble fervant,

HAMILTON.

6. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

From the head of Strathspey,

My Lord,

the 13th June, 1689.

Since I finde that ther are som apprehenfions of invasion from Ireland, I will dispose myself for the fouth with a parte of the forces I have here by

me, which join'd me but within feu dayes: the rebels are enter'd Lochaber againe, where I judged it not for the service to follow them, because here ther is no good wayes to be founfished over all with provisions, and without them no regullar body of forces can subfift together; I leave Colonel Levingfon and Sir James Leflie with their regements in and about Inverneſſe, with two hundert of my Lord Levins till they be releaved by three companies of Leflies which are cumming down from Berwyck. I can afflure your Lordſhip had I not been here to oppofe the rebels theſe two tyms they defcended ſince my north cumming, that the moft parte beſtorth Tay had been by this tyme in oppen rebellion againſt his Majeftie and the preſent government; what ſhall now be the turn of affaires when I goe ſouth, I cannot as yet judge, but I hop God will compleet the delyvranc which he hath wrought this far for his opprefſed people, and make the reigne of our preſent fouverains abound in proſperitie and peace; I judge that it may be prejudiciale for the preſent ſervice, that their is no fond of money in Scotland, at leaſt for the punctuall payment of his Majefties forces upon the English foot; withall the officers not receiving payment of a long tyme occaſions ſom grumblings among them, which your Lordſhip may take your own way to repreſent. I ſent the party of my Lord Colcheſter's regement of hors ſouth already; the officers and troopers are very well affeſted to the ſervice, but they loſt many horses, which I hop his majeftie will conſider, for, though ther hath been no great bloodſhed, they have don good ſervice, to be of the number of little more than 400, which, by God's direcſion, brok the meſures of a diſaffeſted numberous people, and 200 of thoſe diſcover'd after to be partly infected and coeſponding with our enemys, not to us, therefor but to God (who hath hiſthero bleſſed the iuſte arms of our fouverains) be the praife; if affiſtance from Ireland could be hinder'd, I queſtion not but thoſe Highlanders wold foon weary of it, but fo long as they have any hops of that, they will not be fo fond of propoſitions, becauſe they will judge themſelves in bad circumſtances with the preſent government by what they have don already; the Marquis of Athole doth not play faire, for his countrey is

very disaffectedly dispos'd. I hop you shall take mesures to keep from us such as might augment our troubles. Tarbat hath not don in my oppinion neither what he ought and could doe, neither among his own relations or others with whom he had great credit. I am still of oppinion that an act of indemnitie wold doe much to quiet the spirit of such as feare after reckonings; a great parte of the Lord Lovet's men have been with the rebels at this tyme in all the north, I know of no familys wee can make stafe on, except my Lords Strathnaver, Reay and Forbes, with the laird of Grant, and a gentleman of the name of Gordon intituled Edinglasse, flirif of the shire of Bamf, is very forward and zealous for the prefent government: I will effay Locheyl yet ons, though I have no great oppinion of his sincerity; ther hath been a flying report this day as if som velfels were cum to Inderlochy, but no assurance as yet thereof; your Lordship may rest fully assured that by the strength of the Most High, (in whom I trust and not to my own understanding or direction) that I shall do faithfully as before God, all that lyes in mee for th' advancement of their Majesties service, and mantenance of the protestant religion, without the least self-regarde, having no other ambition, then the feeing of that interest once well establislhed and secur'd; I shall ad no farther then that I am unfeignedly, my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

7. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 14 June, 1689.

Since the last I sent your lordship, from the Major Generall M'Kay, wee had none untill this directed to the Counsell which come late last night, which gives a full account of his proceedings, so I need ad nothing to itt but that the prifloners mentioned therein are not yett come, and that wee should desire to know as soon as poifible his Majestie's pleafur

and directions as to them. Last night the Castle of Edinburgh was delivered up on capitulation by the Duke of Gordon, the copy of the artikles that Sir John Lanier agried on with him, and the Counsells ratification therof, is here incloſed ſent. I have likeways ſent your lordſhip the depoſitions of two men that are laſt come from Irland, which are the laſt newes wee have. Sir George M'Kenzie, late Advocat, is gone to England; I have ſent yow a letter he write me which I received after he was gone; he is a member of our Parlament, and it is thought ſtrange he ſhould have gone the King's leave to go now when the Parlament is to meet, which is like to be a very thin meeting, and I ſhould be glade to know the King's pleasure what he thinks fitt shall be done as to thoſe that abſents, and will not come to the Parlament. I have write once or twice to your lordſhip ſince I heard from you; I intreat for particulaſe anſwers to what is write to you by your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervant,

HAMILTON.

8. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Inverneſſ, 14 June, 1689.

Being in haſte when I wrot my laſt from the head of Strathſpey, I forgot to mention the laird of Balnagowen, the chief of the name of Roffe, who is a man of good following and hath teſtified all the zeale and forwardneſſe which could be expeſted of the moſt and beſt affeſted for his Majeftie's ſervice and the preſent government; upon my deſyre the Comittie of Estates did ſend him a commiſſion of ſhirif principall for the ſhire of Roffe, and becauſe I know that others who are neither ſo capable to doe his Majeftie ſervice nor to exercife that charge, will be putting in for it, I judged it expedient to advertiſe your lordſhip that he may be continued therein by his Majeftie, it being an affront, i[nſtead] of favour, which he deſerves by his readyneſſe to all things that I commandēd him for his Majeftie's ſervice, if he ſhould be put out. Nixt Seaforth he is the conſiderableſt man in Roffe for the mater of following, ſo I

pray your lordship may represent to the King that he may be continued, for non other can take so ill the not geting of it as he the being put out of the possession of it. I have sent to Lochaber to know what the rebels are a doeing, they are seperat ons as my former did mention ; all the forces I had north after the junction of Ramsay and the two Engleish regements wold make litle more then 2000 men, and the combin'd Highlanders can make 3000, besydes as many more that wold quickly joyn them if ons they had fom advantage ; the Highlanders are abfolutly the beft untrained men in Scotland, and can be equal'd to our new levies though they were beter armed then they are, perticullarly thoſe Highlanders we have in head ; I will nevertheleſſe labour to fetle things ſo that the general intereſt of the ſervice may be fecur'd here, though I with a parte of the forſaid troupes goe fouth, but fom perticullar men may cum to ſuffer, perticullarly the Laird of Grant, at whom they have a great prejudice, as well as at the reſt of our friends, but he lyes the moſt expoſed of all, but if the whole be faved, the perticular breaches may be eaſily made up. I ſhall be obliged to ſtay fom feu days here both that I may conſider what places are moſt expedient to be takin in poſſeſſion, and that the noife of my fuddain march from this bring not the rebels ſo quickly together again to fall down upon theſe countreys, though I leave double the number of regular forces of what I had againſt the fame enemy ; ſo that I hop things may be well eneugh fecur'd, if nothing cum from Ireland. God I hop will put a happy end to all, to his glory and the ſecurity of his falutary truth to us and our ſucceſſours under the government of their Majefties and theirs. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moſt humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

A place of ſecurity made at Inerlochy for a garifon of 600 men, (which cannot be undertaken without former provifion of things neceſſary, and fix weekes fure tyme to end it,) wold, (with a ſmall body of the lyck number at Inverneſſe,) make thoſe Highlands as peaceable as Muray.

9. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

*From Badenoch, a mile from**the rebels camp, 1689.*

May it please your Grace,
I have received your Grace's, together with the letters of the Comity; but since my last things look more drunly here. My orders and directions to Ramsay have been intercepted in Athole, and the post imprifoned, till they advertifd the rebelled Highlanders of the faid Ramsay's march; wherevpon they, with the Lord Dundie, marched in all diligence to hinder his junctiōn with me, of which though I could not be advertif'd, yet, receiving an expres from Colonel Ramsay, signifieing his approach to Badenoch, I marched imediately thither with the feu forces I had by me, affisted with som Highlanders, to the number in all of 700 men; but at my approach I had notice from the garifon of Ruven, that Ramsay, upon the report of the Highlanders' march, was returned back, and that they were enterd the Strath, that is, Dundee, Locheyl, Glengarie, Kepoch, and severall other lairds of fsmaller following; but of their number the reports was so various by such as I employed, that no fstate was to be made on them; whervpon, finding that Ramsay was turned away from the way of Badenoch, I changed my march, and came in to the head of Strathspey, thinking that he wold never venture to turn wholy back, knowing how much I preffed his march as necessary for the fecurity of the fervice, but rather to take it lower, for feare of a greater power in his way; but, after I had made a long tour of about thirtie myl, and marched 24 hours without halt, so well to joyn him as to cover his march, (being advanced within two mile of the ennemy, and betwixt them and him, if he had taken his march to Strathspey, as I concluded, finding him to have changed from that of Badenoch,) this day I am from all partes of Strathspey informed that ther is no word of his march in or about that countrey. It seems he hath taken the allarme too hot, for 'tis certain that he might have been at

Invernes before Dundie and his affociatts had touched the Breys of Bade-noch ; for he was on the 24th neare Ruven, and that they enter'd Bade-noch but the 26th. They allarmed him purposly in Athole, as I am informed. What raison he might have propofed to himself for fuch a dangerous ftep as to change his fupperior's orders, to the manifeft hazard of the quiet of [the] kingdom, I cannot tell. One thing I can affure your Grace, that his not joyning with mee hath extreamely alterd the face of affaires ; for otherwyfe I could easily have beat or chaffed the rebells, without the leaft hazard of the fervice, being fortified with fuch a body of foot ; wheras now I finde them lodged where my hors can be of no value to me, and all the old foot wee have is but 200, fo that, without a manyfete hazard to the fervice, I cannot refolve to attack them there, the more that they are, by all information I can get, confiderably the ftrongeft, which I wold not value if I could bring them to plain ground. The rebells expefts the junction of the Athole, Mar, and Badenoch men, befydes Brad-Albin, Macdonald of the Isles, Macleud, the Mackenzies, and Catneffe, if things goe favorably for them. I had almoft forgot the Frafers, who refused absolutely to join with me, becaufe they had no commands from their chief, and that one Kinaris, a papift, (who, though otherwyfe a civill perfon, can't be trufed in this mater,) bath the greateft direftion of his affaires. The Marqueffe of Athole might have don much to a prevented all this diforder, if he had been fo much for the Protestant religion and the intereft of King William and Queen Mary, as his Lordfhip was pleased to protest more than once folemnly to mee. And I believe my Lord Tarbet doth not fo much as he should, either for diposing well his own family, or other Highland chiefs, by whom his advyce is of great efteeem. God forgive them all that wold bring in Popery and the violenteft of all perfeccutions (French and Irish) upon thefe nations. Now I have given your Grace a full detail of the fteate of affaires in the north. Befydes that little good is to be expefted of all benorth Tay, all the well-affe^tted familys being in finall numbers befydes the others, I am informed Mar's men have diſobeyd his order to take arms for the Government. The 600 men un-

der Ramfay, if they had joyn'd me according to my order and direction, had prevented disorders which happily 10,000 men will have eneugh to doe to quiet, if they of the contraire party vnderstand to serve themselves of the occasion. To remedie thos disorders so much as possible, I have orderd north Sir James Lefly's regement of foot, and Berckley's of dragowns ; therefore, if the state of affaires requires others in their place, your Grace may desyre Sir John Laniere to call for so many. My oppinion is, that a good body be lodged at St. Johnston, and another at Dundie, whereof a parte hors in both places ; and that the hous of Blair of Athole be garisoned ; for if they shoule offer to hold it out it may be forced by a pettard, wherof wee brought som from England. When your Grace and the Convention shall have read this leter, I pray you fent it to Court, that his Majestie may fee how things stands as they appeare to me at present, declairing before God that I have no prejudice against any man, otherwyse than that I cannot dissemble what I think amisse of men's cariage in such a jufte and christian cause, for which wee ought to esteeme it a happynes to sacrifice all temporall considerations freely and cheerfully. It is abfolutly my oppinion more forces shoule be without delay call'd down, and in such number that the declar'd as well as the dissembling disaffected dispair of a favorable fucces to their criminall defeyns ; and so long as the defigne of Ireland is not put in execution, they cannot be better employ'd then to terrifie the ill affected here, and make them despair of their hop. I am, may it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I judge fitt that my Lord Leven's regement, with too troops of the new levies, be prefently fent to Dundie, till more forces can be posted on that countrey. This morning I had information from Inverness, that the Lord Lowet's men have his orders to joyn Clevers. What truth is in it

I cannot tell ; but 'tis not fit thosse Lords be permitted to joyn their men.
If the heads be secured, the men will a^ct but flowly.

*For His Grace my Lord Duke of Hamilton,
President of the Convention of the Estates,
Edinbrugh.*

10. LORD MELVILL TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

18 Junij.

Between nyn and ten of the cloake last night at Hamptown Court, I received yours of the 14 instant by a flying packet, in which was a letter from Gen. Major Mackay to the Councell, a copy of the artickles between the Duke of Gordon and Sir John Lanier, with the Councells ratification, the depositions of two men from Irland, and a letter to the King, all which I caried inmmediatly to his Majestie. I was in hopes this day to have received his Majesties dire^ctions for answering severall particulars of your Graces letter, but he came from his closet in the morning freight to the City, wher I followed him, and have attended all day for an opportunity of speaking with his Majestie, but he was so much taken up in the Councell and threasury that I could not, only I put him in mind as he was going ; so soon as I shall receive his Majesties commands I shall signifie his Majesties pleasure as to the particulars you wrett off to your Grace. Befor I receaved your Graces letter, I knew not that Sir George MacKenzie had gott a pa^ss.

His Majestie has given a commision appointing ten of the Lords of Councell and Sefflion, a liff quhairof is heir inclosed to your Grace. The comission is sent to my Lord Craford as precedent of the Parliament, he being apoynted to take ther oaths. I received ane letter from the Earl of Crafourd in name of the Counsell, relating to the fending of armes and amonitione, and to ane war with France ; to which I mead returne to his Lordship soe fare as I received his Majesties command, &c.

11. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

Elgin, 27th of June, 1689.

The raison I stay'd so long in north is apparant, by what hath occurred since my coming hither ; first, if your Grace consider what small number of forces were in Scotland when I came north, consisting in the mater of 1200 foot I brought from England, Levington's regiment of dragoons the mater of 180, proven since to be ill composed as to the most parte of officers, and scarcely as many of the Lord Colchester's regiment of hors, in all about 1560 standing forces, which was the occasion I came so slenderly accompanied. Your Grace knowes that I was resolv'd to stay but a fortnights away, having no other thought at that tyme, then to put the Lord Dundie from forming a party in the Duke of Gordon's countreys ; to which end, and that ther might be sure wayes lay'd for rendering his restraint difficult to him, I order'd the Laird of Grant to departe presently for his countrey, to fende men down Spey to hinder the faid Lord's passage over to morrow, when my approach shoulde allarme him ; I gave the same orders to my Lord Mar for the passages of his countrey, as also to the Marques of Athole for his ; Grant stay'd too long at Edinborg after my departure from thence ; Mar was taken with siecknesse, but what Athole's excuse may be (after his solemn protestations to me of his resolution to venture person and all for the Protestant religion, and the maintenance of the government under King William and Queen Mary) I know not, notwithstanding wee saw that no countrey in Scotland favour'd the rebels more than his Lordships did, not only by giving free passage to the Lord Dundie, and treating him and those of his party kindly, but also by seizing my posts and letters, and fending them to the ennemy to take his measures thereby. When then your Grace and the Council shall seriously consider (as I said before) the small number of sensible forces as then in

the kingdom, that benorth Tay (excepting a very feu familys which wold be forced to dryve with the ftreame) all was in a generall disaffection to the prefent government, and that I found prefently a confiderable begining of a party formed in arms beyond my expec^tation, you may easily judge of the reſt, if they had not met with prefent oppofition, and if that snowball had rolled fourth and ingroſſed (as doubtleſſ it wold ad on very quickly) the levies which now are prety well advanced, had been fruitleſſe in many parts of the kingdom ; ſo much for the firſt Highland interprife ; at the fecond tyme their party was beſter formed, and preſumed upon my ſmall number, the intelligence they had with my own people, and Ramſay's unfaſionable contremarch, which cannot, nevetheleſſe, be much blamed in him, finding my orders and direc^tions to him intercep^ted, and knowing that whole countrey of Athole to be ill-affe^cted and ready to joyn with the ennemy. Of the reſt of that affaire I gave your Grace and the Pryvy Councell account already, ſo that I conclude that the peace which the kingdom doth enjoy as yet, and which, with God's affiftance, we are able now to maintaine beſter then at that tyme, may vnder God (whofe work and direc^tion it was) be attributed to the number of 450 re^gular forces which I caried north, whereof almoſt the half eſteemed fauourers of the ennemy more then of us, by the corruption of their officers, ſo that we may fee by what ſmall means God fomtymes overturns great deſeyns ; for I cannot perſuade myſelf otherwayes then that this plot was forged at Edinburg, in the brains of men of greater intereſt and influence upon the Highlanders then the Lord Dundie, which, if it be, I wiſh God may detect ſo great a villanie, that by the punishment of a feu, the peace and happyneſſe of Britaine, in the enjoyment of their religion and libertys, may be eſtabliſhed, and if otherways, their innocence may appear ſo that they may not reſt under fufpition, nor we ſin in fufpe^cting them if innocent. I had then after my return from Baidenoch to Inderneſſe reſolved to make fom halt in the north, notwithstanding I had certain intelligence that Dundie had not above forty hors, and the mater of 3 or 400 foot with him, both that I miſt have fuller affurances of the names of Mac-

kenzie, Frafer and Maepherfons, and knowing that the combyned Highlanders for the most parte lay so contiguouſ, that they could quickly gather vpon feu dayes advertiſment; the forlaid names came to no final in-gadgeſment with me, whereon I can lay any ftreſſe according to my judgement, the most parte of their following conſiſting in Highlanders, whereof the heads of familys no more then Seaforth's brother came not neare mee, and though Redcaſtel, Coul, Tulloch, and others came, they fell not upon final methoſ, but proteſted a great deale of affection for the caufe, ſo far as their intereſt (which is ſmall in following, and of no good men for arms) can goe; the name of Frafer met, but in my oppinion are not to be much truſted, except their Lord were more throw flick, for when they had wryten two or three lyneſ of a generall anſwer to his leter, when I wold have it alter'd according to the coppie I ſend your Grace here incloſed, they refuſed it; my Lord Lovet diреcted his leter to three perſons, whereof one was aetually with all the men he could make with Dundie the laſt tyme he was down the countrey, and the other two have neither conſiderable intereſt, following nor willingneſſ, ſo that though they promiſed to founriſh three hundred men vpon a call, I know not what fate can be made vpon them; and the Macpherfons who ſtented their country to founriſh two hundred men to the ennemy againſt me, have given me no assurances. Notwithſtanding, (being vncertain of maters in Ireland, and at ſea, and judging ſo well by the Lord Secretary's leter as your Graces, that ther was ſom apprehenſions of invasion in the weſt of Scotland, or at leaſt that men were not ſo punctually informed of maters there as need were,) I reſolved to leave Colonel Levingſtoun and Colonel Leſlie with their regiments, and the detacments of Levin and Haſtings, in the north, which make a 1000 men in all, and to goe ſouth with the eight hondert foot detacment out of our three regiments, and Berckley's dragoons. Befydes the 1000 men at Inverneſſe, I left a garifon at Braan and Cultayleud of a 100 men each, of my Lord Reays and Balnagowen's men, vnder a Captain and Lieutenant each honder, the Captain 4ſh. a day, and the Lieutenant 2ſh. and 6 pence for each ſouldier ſo long

till they be discharged, for which I promised to obtain precept from your Grace, which I pray your Grace may be sent upon Baillie Duff for two months, that they shall be in pay the 8 July nixt. Ther was of my Lord Reay's men about 400 when the Highlanders came down laft; of my Lord Strathnavers' men, with the six companies of his regiment, ods of 600, (whereof 398 belonging to his regiment,) and of Balnagowen's men 300, all those supply men were sent away at my return, (excepting such as belonged to my Lord Strathnavers' regiment,) and had only som meal allowed them vpon the publique account, but the 200 of Mackay and Balnagowen were with mee in the hills, and still since I came north.

Now, being cum the length of this town, where I was to take the detachment of the 3 regiments, and the dragowns of Berckley, which I sent a fortnight agoe to Strathboggy in my way, I had this morning the inclosed letters from Colonel Levingston, the Lord Strathnaver and Balnagowen, which I find not strenge, having allwayes suspected, that upon my motion southward they would draw together again; now I find myself obliged to expect the certaintie of this somwhere hereabouts, to the end I may not loose the fruit of all my former labour, (though, I thanek God for it, wee are now better provided for their interprises then when I came north,) for certainly, notwithstanding of the obliging measures I take with all men, I find as much raison to doubt of men as ever before, if they found the occasion favorable. I have wryten severall tyms, so well to to your Grace as to the officers commanding the forces in my absenc, that my opinion was, that more forces shold be sent to Argyles shire, which wold divert the combined Highlanders from falling so troublefom to the north; for here they expect the most formidable party, as certainly they have the greatest number of favourers in these norther shires, who doe not believe there are so many forces on foot in Scotland, since nothing appears against the rebels but the small party I had with me before the junctiion of Ramfay and the two English regements: Nor yet doth it appere but small, since nothing els makes head against them. It is therefore my opinion, to your Grace and the Privy Council, (to which his Ma-

jeftie refers himself much as to the direction of matters in this kingdom) that a body of eighteen hundert foot, and a hundert and fiftie hors, or a hundert at leaft, (comprehending the forces which might be fent there already, whereof I am uncertain) be commanded to the foresaid shire, not counting Argyle's own regement, which will be of no greater ufe then I find my Lord Strathnavers and Grants here in their own countreys, unarmed and undisciplined, which body will keep thofe Highlanders at home ; and if they ſhould venture a march to the north, ſhall fall in and deſtroy their countreys. It will moreover be a bridle to Athole's and Braidalbin's countreys, and well poſted to march quickly, and help to opoſe a landing in any place in Scotland where wee may have greateſt apprehenſion, and the ennemy greateſt appearance of effectuating it. A conſiderable body in the north cannot ſo quickly joyn for ſuſh an opoſition, but that in Argyles shire can in feu dayes march to any place in the weſt. The foresaid body ought to be of the new levies, of the beſt armed, and moſt advanced in discipline. I believe my Lord Angufe's regement wold doe well there ; for I find, by expeſience, that neither the English nor Scots ſtrenger troopes can ſuſtaiп upon meal and other viſtuals, which can be furnished for ſuſh occasions, as the men of the country, and ſuſh as are newly levied. There muſt be a proviſor fent with them who ſhall have care to get the meal furnished without fail, ſee it diſtributed and ſhortned of their pay ; as alſo to diſtribut fleſh three or four days a-week, according to the ſame method. Ther ought alſo order to be fent to Baillie Duf at Inderneſſe, colectour of the accyſe, as well as of the revenues of the crown lands in Roffe, to have meal in magafin at Inderneſſe, and to deput a man along with the forces, to anſwer to the government for the diſtribution thereof to the forces, and that it be dueſly ſhortned of their pay, to the end the troupes be reguſtarly provided, whereby the ſervice may be advanced, and the government be at no loſſe theireby. And that thofe proviſors, with their depuſts, may doe the ſervice diligenter and cheerfully, they ought to have ſom allowance for their pains ; feu men now a dayes being ſo diſintreſted as to doe their duty upon a principle of conſcience,

without self regarde. Your Grace and the Privy Councell, in my opinion, shoule prefently appoint a commity of the councell to weigh thofe confiderations, and being found necessary for the farty and peace of the kingdom, order the prefent putting them in execution. To the commity might be joyned Sir John Laniere and the Brigadier Balfour, to heare their advice of matters; for if the Rebells move down again, as the letters which I fent here incloſed ſeem to import, I cannot, without expoſing the north, leave it, notwithstanding that I believe I might be of ſome uſe there. There ought alſo, during theſe troubles, horſes to be appoynted at Bruntſtſtand, Dundie, Montros, Aberdene and ſo to Inverneſſe, upon the publick charges, for the quick paſſage of the expreſſes, which wold be of ſmall charges and great uſe. The fame method ought to be uſed for all places where a confiderable part of the forces are poſted, otherwayes orders and advices are very uncertain and longfom, whereby the ſervice may run a notable hazard. As to the officers I fent ſouth, in my opinion they cant but be guilty; and all what is of the matter, the dragowns, who, by their own confeſſion, deſerve death, know it in all appearance, perticularly Provenſal, who was the Lieutenant Colonel's fervant and ferjent for many years. It were neceſſary that fellow, with the other dragowns, were put to the torture, and Lieutenant Murray deſerves it by the confeſſion of the ferjent and one of the dragowns. If torture be juſt in any caſe it is in this; and ſince law allows it, why ſhould it not be uſed in a matter ſo eſſentiall to the ſervice, and of ſuſh a pernicious confeſſion if it had taken intended effect. It is for the ſervice it were ſoon diſcuffed, and well affeſted officers placed vpon the head of thofe men, who in that caſe, I am perſuaded, will doe the ſervice well. If your Grace defyres I be ſouth, let the forces mentioned be quickly diſpatched to the weſt Highlands; and then, when I am there, I ſhall help to take meaſures for the further ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom. I have, in the mean tyme, order'd ſom meal in magaſin at Inverneſſe, and cauſed ſecure all the meal at Caſtel Gordon, (where the Duke's men keep garifon hitherto againſt the government) as well as at Strathboggy, for the forces, if occaſion be

for it. I beg your Grace may let me quickly know what shall be resolved vpon this information and advyce of, May it please your Grace, your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I pray your Grace, after communication to the Privy Councel, that this leter may be sent to court by a flying packet; because I can't possibly wryt many such long accounts of matters. A coppie may be keept of it if your Grace and the councell think it of vse for your mesures.

This incloſed I got preſently from Cluny Macpherſon, chief of that Clan, which I ſend your Grace. I believe that he is not ill inclined, and will cum to his duty, though feare made them ſtand of hitherto.

12. THE KING TO DAVID EARL OF LEVEN AND MAJOR
GENERAL MACKAY.

WILLIAM R.

Right truſty and welbeloved Couſin and Councillor, and right truſty and welbeloved Councillor, Wee greet you well. Whereas, Wee underſtand that divers of our ſubjeſts, eſpecially in the North and West Highlands in that our ancient Kingdome being diſaffectēd, doe daily affociate themſelves in open Rebellion againſt Us, and being informed that the generality of them are miſled by a few perſons who are the Cheifs or heads of the fev'rall Clanns. And Wee being willing and diſirous to prevent the effuſion of blood, and, if poſſible, by all gentle means, to reduce our faid ſubjeſts to their due obedience; Therefore Wee doe hereby Authoriſe and require you forthwith to uſe your beſt endeavours to effeſtuate the fame; and in order thereunto to capitulate with thoſe who are judged the Cheifs and Heads of the Clanns, or Leaders of any Parties now in armeſ againſt Us, Giving them affurance of our gracious pardone, if in

due time (prescribed to them by you) they submit themselves to our mercy, and give surety for the future to demean themselves as loyall subjeēts. As also you are to make them such offers and proposalls as shall be communicated to you by George Lord Melvill our Secretary of State for that our Kingdome, whose letters to you anent the premisses, Wee require you to observe and rely upon as from our selfe. And so Wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Hampton Court, the 10th day of July 1689, and of our Reigne the first year.

By his Majesties command,

MELVILL.

*To our right truely and welbeloved Cousin and
Councillor David Earle of Leven, and our right
truely and welbeloved Councillor Major Generall
Mackay, Commander in chief of our Forces in
our ancient Kingdom of Scotland.*

13. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinbruch, the 20th July 1689.

The Master of Forbes, who since my goeing north hath given singular proofs of his great zele and affection for their Majesties' service, hath represented unto me, that during the two late reigns the Duc of Gordon hath got from my Lord Forbes his father the superiorty of a great many of his own and his friends lands, which the said Lord parted with rather then be in disputs with the said Duc, in a tyme when he himself and his famyly were look'd down upon, as not ready in all things to comply with the defynes of those tyms; therefor since the said Dukes lyf and fortune are at his Majestie's pleasure, he judgeth it not unbecomming to labour by a march of his Majesties favour, (which I can assure your Lordship he deserves as much as any I know in Scotland,) to have the superiorty of

all his own and his friends lands which doe hold of the Duke of Gordon, to the end he may be in better capacity to appeare more formidable for their Majesties service; which consideration, with the credit to deppend of none but the king, is the only raifon of his folicitation, and my earnest intreayt that your Lordship, (when the King in his own tyme may judge fit to restore the Duke of Gordon and pardon his former faults,) would have the goodneffe to order maters so that his Majestie may gratifie so worthie a perfon with the grant of so raifonable a demande, which is more for his Majesties service then any advantage to him, for it will not be ten pieces yearly in his pocket. I wish the Duke of Gordon's famly well because of an ancient friendship betwixt it and ours, but I prefer such as are zelous for the Protestant interest, and the advancement of my mafters fervice, (of which I may call myself now a competent judge, having tryed the puls of moft men in the north,) to any confideration of perticullar friendship. It is a thing in the King's hand, and which he may doe with all the juftice in the world, and will not leffen the Duke of Gordon's eftate, and you know, my Lord, that it is fit fuch perfons as venture freely and cheerfully lyf and fortune for his Majestie's fervice should receive fom marks of his royll favour, perticullarly when it can be don at fo cheap a rate. I find this parliament not lyk to jump with the intentions of the king. I believe their greatest grudge is at my Lord President of the Seflion and his fon for ought is pretended as yet, for fom of them have been speaking to me of the mater. The Lord Advocat and your fon the mafters have this evening been consulting with me, whether to evit one of two inconveniences, (that is to cheque his Majestie's choice of minifters, or to hinder the fettlement of the kingdom in civil and church government,) it were not necessary that his Majestie shoule beftow fomthing upon Duke Hamilton, which might attach him wholly to his Majestie's interest, who certainly if he be faithfully informed, will never ftreik or fcreu up the royll prerogative beyond the juft limits eftablished by law. But 'tis not fit nor saf he shoule pairt with what the law provydes him to. The moft new levyed forces are of the

west countreys, and those who are contrarie to their principles, and apprehend the rigour of their government, wee have no great rason as yet to lay much stresse on ; therefor if the Commisioner can remove difficultys betwixt the King and his parlement, I thinck a good charge should be well bestowed upon him, and if therafter he shold not be found so serviceable, the King is always master of his favours. For certainly there is a great inconvenience, in my oppinion, to be expected from proroguing the parlement without settling either of a church government or a Colledge of Justice, and no leſſe from continuing of them in a croſſe humour. How far their pretensions doe confit with law I am ignorant of, but one thing I believe, that if this parliament, by a mutinous diſposition of ſom leading members, ſhould obtain their end, it might prove of bad example ; but certainly if they had right on their fyde it were worthie the greatneſſe of the King to give their clame a favourable hearing ; therefor, my Lord, I pray you to have a ſpeciall care his Majeftie be put upon nothing that may feeme to be a ground of asperſion to the ennemys of his government, for his Majeftie is ſuppoſed, by ſuch as appear againſt his iſtructions, a ſtranger to your conſtitutions ; and though, in my judgement their hates and delayes of the maters of greateſt moment be inexcuſable, I finde them nevtheleſſe allwayes making great protestations of affeſtion and fidelity to his Majefties ſervice. The officers of dragoons which I ſent here prisoners have confeſſed guilt, and throws themſelvſes at his Majefties feet, confeſſing their lyves and fortunes to be at his royll pleasure, ſo that all their hopes are in his Majefties royll clemencie, perticullarly Lieutenant Colonel Levingſton, whose greateſt guilt ſeems to lye in the concealing of the plot of others, for none doth teſtifie that ever he conſented to joyn the ennemy ; but though his Majeftie ſhould incline to pardon them, I wold be of oppinion they ſhould be ſecured till things be better ſettled in the kingdom. I doe not know if I can be preſent at the councell of war, for I ſent the forces which I deſigne againſt the rebells on their way ſo far at S^t Johnſton, and ſhall follow them by the way of Sterling to ſee that place and the importance thereof, where I leave a good body of forces ready to

march where his Majesties service shall require, with Sir John Lanier and Balfour to command them ; it were fit the twelve troops newly levied were regimented ; Annandaile and Roffe seems to be the expectants, they are both prety men and were forward to settle the crown upon their Majesties ; what may be their rason to joyn with the jangling party now I cannot tell ; haply this mark of his Majesties favour might break them of. Ther are feveral exprefse boats fent to Loch Foyl, to advertis his Majesties ships there of the invasion by their negligence made by thosse three ships. I cannot learn by the report of such as came from Belfast, that ther is great appearance of the cumming of any more : a couple of frigats upon this north coft and towards the Isle of Skye, wold contribut much to subdue the rebellion. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moft humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

14. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinburgh the 22 July 1689.

I fend your Lordship a copie of the examination of the officers and dragoons of Colonel Levingtons regiment ; I am jufte now going for Sterling, and from thence to St. Johnston, in order to march against Dundie and the Highlanders ; it seems they will have a laft pull for it, for in their own mynds I doe beleieve that this fmall fuccour will more discouradge fort of them, more then it will raiſe their hops. I wold willingly know for what poſts thosse 3300 pounds are to be fent from Berwyck ; ther is no money cum as I fee for your fons regement, and I doe not know if ther be any for Livingston ; if ther be none for the Earle of it it might be pay'd to Mr. Foulis at London, who wold cause it be pay'd to the faid Earle or his order. If the King put out Balnagowen I judge it not at this tyme the intereft of his service, for I declare ſince I went north that none could ſhew himſelf more zealous and forward for the

prefent Government, and the contrarie I saw of others ; Foulis is an honest man and my cousin, but he is not very fit for such a charge, nor hath not the third parte of that interest of men that Balnagowen hath. I could wish your Lordship did take methods to ingadge Duke Hamilton cordially in the Kings service, and concert things with him, for he cannot be well wanted at this tyme, for ther are great incroachments defyned as it would appeare, though the main dryvers protest great sincerity for their Majesties service, and none can so well renvers them as the faid Duke ; I beleieve the great speat runs against Staires and his son, for som men declared that if they wer in the Government the King could not expect this Parlement right ; this I wryt only for your Lordship's advertisment according as things are repreſented to mee, it lying otherwayes out of my road. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moft humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

15. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Sterling the 24th July 1689.

I am this far towards the Highlands ; it is not an easie commision that the King hath given mee to keep a kingdom peaceable where ther is so much division even betwixt such as love the prefent Government, that it hinders the necessary expedition of thoſe things which in my judgement preſſes moft, that is to reduce the Rebells, in ſo far that the Earle of Annandale and the Lord Rosse offer'd to lay down their commiſſions rather then quit the Parlement to goe with mee to the feeds ; protesting all fidelity and affection to their Majesties and their Government, and readyneſſe to follow my orders to that end, if the neceſſity of attending the hous did not oblige them to the contrarie at this tyme. My Lord they are extreamly jealous of my Lord Prefident of the Seſſion ; I wiſh it breed no jealousies of his Majesties Government in the ſpirit of his ſubjects, pericullarly of that party which I hold to be the ſureſt for the King, and

certainly my Lord, though Stairs and his son were wholy innocent of what they alleage upon them, I wold think it both their prudence and christian duty to withdraw of their own accord to let passe those heats rather then to imbarke his Majestie in the least difficulty or misunderstanding with his people ; for they are perfuaded that the tyme of their full delyvrance from the slavery which was impos'd upon them by the Minifters of State during the late reigne is cum, if his Majestie were rightly informed, who they believe intends nothing but juftice and equity. These are their words and protestations, which I pray your Lordship to repreſent to the King ; for as I never imagin to myſelf any conſiderable advantages in the world, and ſerving mainly out of affection to their Majesties ſervice and government, which goe hand in hand with the mantenance of the Protestant Religion, I never reſolve to flatter ſuch as may poſſeſſe their favour in any thing which I might judge to be againſt the intreſt of their ſervice. I can ſay that I never heard any of them jealous your Lordship, and if they did, it wold be ground eneugh to make mee think the leſſe their accuſation againſt others, perfuading myſelf that you are too much a christian to offer the leaſt prejudice to his Majesties intreſt and ſervice upon any privat account ; I choſe rather to give permiffion to thofe noblemen to remain at Edinburgh though their troups goe along with me, then receive their commiſſions, not knowing what ſpirit may govern men if they were greatly diſgulfed by ſuch as his Majestie employs, and finding them very much countenanced by that party, though Duke Hamilton was offendē I did not take them at their word ; but if I be not miſtakēn, I know the King to be ſo much maſter of his paſſion that he wold lightly condenme ſuch peremptorneſſe in mee, ſince he is allwayes maſter to put them out or continue them as he ſhall judge it for his ſervice. I am affrayd to be ſtraiſtned for provisions in this expedition, therefor if I cannot effectuat what I project, with Gods affiſtance (upon whose proviſonc I reſt more than any direcſion or conduēt of myn,) it ſhall not be my fault, for I am reſolved, God willing, not to ſpare my pains nor my lif (which is all that I have to venture) for the advancement of ſo juſt a cauſe. I wiſh your

Lordship wold obtain an order for the man of war that cum down with som money and ammonition to stay here upon our coasts, for wee cannot have a farthing money sent north for the forces wee have there, because our coasts are infested with French capers ; if ther could be an other spair'd to it it wold doe much to the reduncion of thos Highlanders, and accommodation of the forces, perticularly if wee undertake to plant a garrifon before winter in Lochaber, which in my oppinion is the readiest way to see an end of these intesfin troubles, which otherwayes by flow mesures may take us up for a while, and at last cost much more money then wold doe the turn now by handling them more hotly. I order this to be sent by a flying packet, because it is a small expence and requires haste, that your Lordship may obtain the order for that man of war to stay here, and see to get another joynit with it. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

16. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Holyroodhous 28 July 1689.

On Fryday last Major Generall Mackay marched from St Johnston with about 4000 foot, 4 troops of horfe and dragoons, and was at Dunkell that night, where he received intelligence that Dundie was come to Blair in Atholl ; he marched on Saturday towards him, and within two miles of Blaire about 5 at night they ingadged, and by severall inferior officers and fouldiers that is come here this evening, gives us the account, that after a sharp ingadgement Dundie being much stronger, the Major Generall was quite defeat, and I have yett heard of no officers of quality that is come of but Lieutenant Colonel Lauther, who my Lord Ruthven spoke with as he came from St Johnston this day and gives the same account of there being wholy routed, but the confusion is fuch here that the partinlars is hardly to be got. Wee have given orders at Council this afternoon

to draw all the standing forces to Stirling, and has sent to the west countrey to raise all the fencable men, and Sir John Lanier has write to the English forces in Northumberland to march in here, and is going to Stirling to command, for Mackay is either killed or taken by all the account we have yett got, but you shall quickly have an other flying packet or an expres. I am sorry for these ill newes I send you to acquaint his Majestie with, and my humble opinion is, that his Majestie must first beat Dundie and secure this kingdom or he attempt any other thing, and now Dundie will be master of all the other side of Forth where there are so great numbers of disaffected to join him, so the King must make haft to affit us to reduce him, for I fear wee shall not be able to defend this side of Forth long, and the King will know what new men is after a rufle given. Wee do not know what to do with the prisoners, there is so many of them in the Castle and Tolboith here, and desires the Kings commands in it if they may not be sent some to Berwike and some there to the Toure, in a man of warr wee hear is just now comeing up to Leith. I intend to ajurn the Parliament to morrow or next day, every body desiring it, to October. In this confusion and disorder wee are in here, and haveing so many other things to despach, all I can further say is, that I beg you may haft doun the Kings commands in this unhappy junctur to your Lordships most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

17. SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinburgh, 28 July 1689.

The excessive trouble we are all in cannot be expresed, both for the strok the Kings affairs hath received and the losf of many brave men; we dout not but the Major Generall Ramsay and Balfour, with all the officers of ther regiments that wer ther, L. C. Lauder on excepted, are cut off; it seems to be mostly chargable att my Lord Murays door, who

not only refusid to joyn M^cKay, but when his men began to give ground fell on them. My Lord Kenmoor and Bellheaven are certinly killed ; L. C. Lauder says that after the brek of the armie he see your son Lord William on horfback ; we have not yett heard of him ; all we can nou doe is to intreat the King will fend force with all expedition hear, for we have nothing to hinder Dundee to overrun the wholl country. Ill trouble your Lordship no furder, I am yours.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill
Secretary of State for Scotland.*

18. SIR JOHN DALRYMPLE TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edenb. July 28, 1689.

This day brings us sory, sad and surprizing newes. We hav good hop that your son is saif; he is wounded in the shouldeer but was mounted after all was broke : ther hath been treachery in the leading them to that place and the feig of Blair, and my Lord Murrays raisng his men hath all been concerteid, and yet I do admire that so good a party, so good officers and fouldiers not surpryfed, but having weill fought it, could have been opprefed with twice so many new men : we have no perfect accounts, bot ther is great los of officers. I fear poor honest G. Major M^cKay his brother is killed, and Coll. Ramsay and Coll. Hastings, and my Lord Kenmor, I fear poor Belhaven is gon ; Annandals troop wanting officers mad the first disturbain. The Lord is punishing the spirit of contention that reingns amongst us by thes who were no people. Argyll hes about three thousand men on the other syd bot new men, and tho' he be within a days journey of Lochaber, yet he never knew that Dundee was marched. Dundee had not above one hundredth horfes ; the Atholl men ar mor creuell then the enimys army, so I fear few will either gett off or gett quarter except some of the horfe who ran first, and the foot officers ther servants

ar all com away with ther horses: this maks a great conffernation heir; we hav ordered all the forces we have to Strifling, and have ordered all the sensible men in the west to be rendervouzed, but I wish you may order us troops from Ingland, for the countrymen will not do any service, and they will now becom intollerable: som people already appear not so concerned as the stroak requirs. I think the other syd of Tay is lost, and Fyv is in very ill tune—the Lord help us and fend you good newes of your son. My dear Lord Adeiu.

*For my Lord Melvill
Lord Secretair of Stat for Scotland
at London.*

19. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Holyroodhous, 29 July 1689.

Last night by a flying packet I gave you the ill neues of Mackays being beat. I have now sent this bearer, a Dutch man who is a Lieutenant in Mackayes regement and ajutant, and was in the action, to give his Majestie all the account he can, and he gives as good account as any that is yett come, but to tell true they all differ in particulares as to the way of the action, but it feams Mackay has been so forward that after a march of 16 mylls should ingadged the enemy when his men was weary, and the next day there was foure troopes of horfe and 2 of dragoons to have joined him, and I fear his foot did not stand to it as they shoule, but run after some firing when the Highlanders came to a cloſe fight with them; wee know not certanely who are killed or taken, the bearer can tell who we hear no word of yett, and thofe wee consider as so, for there is feveral inferior officers and fojors come, but none of them can give certane acounts of the losſ. The King wold haſt ſome of his beſt troops here, and eſpecially foot, for our new raiſed men will not be able to ſtand the High-

landers ; there is thrie of the battalions of those that came doun with Mackay here and at Stirling, but most of them new men, so I fear they do as ill if put to it as the rest did, and all the foot wee have more now is, Mars regement, Bargany and Blantys, who are at Stirling ; Argylls, Glencarns and Angus regement in the Highlands with Argyll whom we have sent for ; Sir James Leflys, Stranevers and Grants about Invernes with the Scots dragoons under the command of Sir Thomas Leivingstone and Coll. Barklays dragoons are in Aberdeenshire, who we thinke must go north and join Sir Thomas Leivingston, for we fear he can not come to join us here : Sir John Laneir is gone to Stirling to put the troops there in as good a condition as he can, but wee need more general officers. We have got no notice of Dundies motion since the action, and wee fear all Perthshire and Angus will be in arms for him presfently, so what resolutions the King taks wold not be delayed ; for if he caries Stirling he has all Scotland. The frigot with the money to pay Mackays regements is come, and the ship with the arms, but the canon and mortar piece wee shall fend bake for there is no use of them here, and the King wold give his directions as to those officers and fojors that has come of from the fight. I received yours with the news of the Princes of Denmarks being broght to bed of a son, which I am very glade of, and wishes their Highnesses much joy. I shall long much for a return of his Majesties commands, and I intend to write to Carlile and give notice there to the commanding officer of this disaftter, that Marschall Shonberg may be aequainted with it, and I intend to desire some of their troops may march into Scotland for our affistance, for if wee be not able to defend Stirling, this place wee can not fly in, but must retire into England. It was both by the Councill and Parlament thought fit not to adjurn them to day for discouraging people more, so I have by their ouen advife adjurned them to Wednesday ; all that was done this day you will see by the inclofed act, and the next day we are to consider how to gett mony, for little is to be expe&cted now from the other side of Forth. Your Lordship will be weary with this long letter as I am in writing of it, having never been out of business since 4 a cloake

in the morning, so I hope you will mend the errors in it when you read it to his Majestie, which is desired by your Lordships most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

I have given the bearer but twenty ginies.

20. SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinburgh, 29 July 1689.

I gave you in my last a short and melancholy acount of this battel. I wryt nou not that I can give you anay better newes, but to intreat youll use your interest with the King as you wold avoid the ruine of your country to fend such force hear with the grateft expedition as with what of honest men will joyne them may all at once extinguish this flame. I have spoke with L. C. Laudor, who says except the Dutch dragoons and som other such force, he dos not see how it can be done; if your Lordships knew the flones of our mesurs hear it wold move you to this spidy method, for tho it be now 48 hours fince the defeat, and 36 fince we heard of it, thers nothing of moment don; the Parliment refered it to the Counsell, and they have apointed a commitee to consider of it till to morow att ten a clock. For what I know Dundee may be at Stirling be that time. Thers nou grat want of good officers and som person of worth and understanding to command in chief, els our affairs I apprehend will turn to a very ill account. Tho I say this yett we have som small hops the Major Generall and your son are alyve; thers on says he fee the Major Generall a quarter of a myll from the place and nyne hors with him after the routt; and L. C. Lauder says about the sam tyme he fee your son Leven well horsed; God grant it be true. The King's los in the officers is unexprefable, and its pitie to give green men to good men to command them, for ther running was the los of all. My Lord I need not tell you how much the King is concerned to ffalou this mesur in fending his troupes hear, and hou much its your Lordships interest as well as that of the King and country;

on the first view youll easily apprehend it. Pray you lett your resolotions anfuer the expec@tations of your frinds, amongst whom you may alwayse reckon, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and faithfull servant,

WILL. LOCKIART.

*For the Right Honourable the Lord Melvill
Soll Secretarie of Statt for Scotland.*

21. SIR PATRICK HUME OF POLWARTH TO LORD MELVILLE.

MY LORD,

Edinburgh, 29 July 1689.

Tho' you will have full accounts from others of the defeat of our army, and the particular losf, yet I cannot forbear to write my thoughts upon the whole matter. I am indeed of opinion that the falsehood of pretended friends led honest Mackay in the snare to his ruine ; what is passed cannot be helped ; if the methods of some honest men had been followed, this great losf might probably have been prevented ; if they be yet neglected, greater losf will probably yet befall us ; if you do not see to it, your guilt will be heavie ; all I can do here, and as I am, is to wish well to what I would gladly serve, if in a capacity. I trouble you no farrer, but am stll, my Lord, your L. humble servant and true friend,

Pray send my wife this note.

PAT. HUME.

*For the Right Honorable the Lord Melvill
Lord Secretarie at State to his Majestie.*

22. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Sterling, the 29 July, 1689.*

I am fory I have not beter account to give your Grace of our lafte expedition, but satisfied in my own mind that I have vndertaken nothing

but vpon such grounds as more capable commanders might readyly be deceived in, for I take God to witnesse (who knowes the secrets of hearts) that I doe not make such an Idole of vain glory and reputation as to oblige me to interprise the leaft thing which my judgement might represent to be contrairie to ther Majesties service and the preſent government vpon that account ; but conſidering that my forces were ſuperior in number to the ennemys, as I could very well know, being the ſpace of two houres in order of battaill, within a muſquet shot to them, (not judging it fit to attack them, being ranged vpon a hill above a plain, where I drew vp my troupes,) and judging my men far beyond theirs in the vſe of their arms and firmitie in occaſion, I thought I might ſafly, according to the rule of common prudence ingage them though it hath pleaſ'd ntrarie to my expe oſe regements vpon moſt ſtrefſe, and which ed to doe well heretofore which might be expeſted of the of troupes, ſo carefully train'd for the trade as they were, but it ſeems that God (in this as well as in all aCTS of the vniuers,) will let vs ſee the vanity of humane confidence ; in ſhort, there was no regement or troop with me, but behaved lyck the vileſt cowards in nature, except Haſtlings and my Lord Levens, whom I moſt praife at ſuſh a degree, as I cannot but blame others, of whom I expeſted more. Now that which I beg of your Grace is, that men goe quickly to work to ſtop the conſternation of our friends, as well as the hops and pryde of our ennemys, to which end Sir John Lanieres regement moſt be preſently called to quarter about Ster-ling, as well as my Lord Colcheſters ; Balgeignies moſt be ſent to Dundie with order to deſſend that loyally affected town againſt their implacable ennemys reſentments, till I can forme a body with the foreſaid hors, and what foot I can pick out as yet to chaffe those highland barbarians again to their hilly confidence and refuge. I beg then (my Lord) that this deſfeat may not alter in the leaſt your reſolution of continuing your feſſion of Parlement, for, in my oppiniſon, tis not worth the while, can be eaſily by God cover'd without giv

much satisfaction necessary deliberations of prehension of their advantage the success of war is men ought to be provided as well to remedie a bad one as to prosecute a good. If ther hath not been an order from your Grace or the councell to remove Balgeignie from St. Johnston, the Lieut.-Coll. of that regement ought to be lay'd fast, as having don it out of an ill intention. I intend to try narrowly if the faint-heartednesse of som officers hath not been the occasion of such a strange breach among so many regements; to-morrow I shall visit the passes of this river, and order the construction of som redoubts to secure them, and so make a start to Edinburgh to consult with your Grace and the Lords of his Majesties councell concerning further measures to be taken for securing the peace of this kingdom; the further relation of things I refer till I have the honour to see your Grace. I am, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I beg this letter may be sent to the Kings secretary having no tyme to wryt another so full at present, and that it be dispatch'd by a flying packet.

23. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Stirling, the 29th July, 1689.

As none is more greeved that any thing prejudicall to their Majesties service shoule fall to my share, so none shall use more diligence to repaire the losses so far as may depend of me then myself. My Lord, your son hath behaved himself with all his officers and shoulders extraordinary well, as did also Colonel Hastings with his. I have given a large account of matters to my Lord Commisioner, which I desyred might be sent your Lordship. I am extreamly in pain that my wyf shall have the newes of

my death before this inclosed can be at her ; none of those who fled to Dunkell and St. Johnston could say any thing of mee, for they were gone neare an houre befor I caryed of your son's men and Hastings by an other way then the fled went, to be free of the people of Athol, whose disaffection I discover'd of a long tyme to the prejudice of the service. This day late I came with that little body of the Debris of those two regements to Sterling, without halt or rest for two days and two nights to prevent the ennemy's diligence to cut my paßlage, and am now so overtaken with sleep, that I can say no more, but that I am unchangably My Lord, your Lordship's moft humble and obedient fervant,

II. MACKAY.

24. THE DUKE OF HAMILTON TO LORD MELVILL.

Holyroodhous, 30 July 1689.

My two last gave your Lordship a very bad account of the action betuixt Mackay and Dundy, which I did not tell you so ill as both officers and foldiers fayed that came from the action, as you will understand by the expres I sent last night ; but this morning wee got newes that helped to comfort us again, for I fee letters this morning to my Lord Murray from fure hands, that Dundie was killed in the action, and a litle after wee had the certane account that Mackay, your son, Kenmore, Belhaven, Coll. Ramsay, with two Battalions, wer come to Stirling, and all those wer fayed to be killed. So now I fee no officer of quality amissing but Brigadier Balfour, and Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, who I hope may be prisoneers. They say Collonel Canon comands now the highlanders since Dundie is gone, by whoes death I think they have little reason to brag of the victory, and that they are marching towards Angus. I have just now received the inclosed from General-Major Mackay, who, I believe, will

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give you a better account ; so I onely ad, that I am your Lordship's most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

25. THE LORD CARDROSS TO LORD MELVILL.

My Dear Lord,

Edinburgh, 30 July, 1689.

I had not the courage to writ to your Lordship by the express yesterday, because I had then too much apparent ground to think my Lord Leven was killed as well as most of our officers, but now, God be thanked, things ar better, both as to the King's interest and your Lordships concerne then dard to hope at the first report, for the Earle of Leven, General Major M'Kay, and all the considerable officers ar alive and free, except Colonel Balfour, Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kay, and Kenmoors Major, and it is not certaine what is become of them, if it be not the laft that is killed ; this is what is faid, but I cannot be positive, further then that those we thought dead ar hourly coming in. Major-General Mackay is not wounded, nor Earl Leven. M'Kay took to Drummond Castle about 1400 men. General Major M'Kay was as long or longer in the field then the enimie, though they carried away the baggage ; this is what is faid. The Lord Murray is exclaime against and suspected by most, and so is Patrick Graham, who was in St. Johnstoun with Bargany's regiment, we think the General Major will cleare us much in these the morrow when he comes. People that ar honest ar not satisfied [with] our great man. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servant,

CARDROSS.

*For the Right Honorable my Lord Melvill,
Secretary for the Kingdome of Scotland,
London.*

26. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *St. Johnston, the 2 August, 1689.*

After I came to Sterling with a parte of the Regements of Leven and Hastings, which I car'y'd of the field of battle in a body, and with others, which Colonel Ramsay had rallied the mater of two mile from the said place of battle, I judged that it wold give som esclate to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to ryse in arms against the government, to appeare presently in the fields, and to place a garison at St. Johnston, close by the ennemis greatest body; therefore I order'd the Lord Colchester's regement of hors, with six troops of the Scots hors, two of Cardrosses dragouns, with Mar and Balgeignies regements to follow, conveighed by a troop of hors each, and march'd in all diligence with the rest of the hors and dragouns to St. Johnston, wherevpon the march I vnderstood that the ennemy had sent som foot and hors, to transporth the meale, which by order of the councell was transported thither for the vse of their Majestie's forces, and drawing neare the town wee discover'd som of their hors already got out of our reach, but their foot not being far from the town, as yet, was overtaken by a squadron of Colchester's regiment, which kill'd the most parte of them, and took som prisoners, the whole party being found afterwards to be of Atholemen, by the examination which I made myself of the prisoners. If I had three good battaillons of regular foot, with the hors, and dragouns which I have here, (perticullarly Colchester's regement) I wold make them feater, in my opinion. I intend, in the meantyme, to leave here in garison Mar and Balgeignies regements, with three troops of hors, and as many dragouns, and send the rest to Sterling, while I shall cum to Edinburgh to know your Grace and the councells further good finding, how wee are to proceed for the further fettlement of the peace of this kingdom. I am just now wryting a leter to Colonel Cannan, whom I vnderstand commands their army provisionally, to know what prisoners of ours they have,

and upon what conditions they will releeve them, where I let them know by the by that the state of their affairs is not a hapeny advanced by their victory, and how little the expectation wherewith those highlanders are fed of King James's landing shall turn to their account, making them hop that vpon their humble address to their Majesties privy councell, they may expect of the Kings clemency a gracious indemnity for the past faults. I am ordering som more security for the breaches of this town by way of pallisade, for tis a post of importance confidering the disposition of the Atholemen. I admire my Lord Murray could do no more to hinder the junction of that countrey with the rebels. I am informed for certain that the death of Dundie and this march do make them bethink themselves, so as to say, that if King James land not presently, they will look for their security by the government, which made mee try their puls in the leter I wrot to Cannon. Now, my Lord, since your Grace is so nearly concerned in the said Lord Murray, and so intirely for this intrest, I wish he may have som hand in dividing that party, which is, in my opinion, vpon the way to divide of itself shortly, by making his men to break of the first, in which case I think Baleuchan and all the other transgrefours might be pardoned to procure a speedy settlement of the nation in peace; if the ennemy turn head to the north I must goe with a body of hors and dragoons to releeve Levingston. This is all I have to acquaint your Grace of at present, being alwayes, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

Since I cannot wryt double information of things, I wish your Grace may fend my letters allwayes as they are read in councell to court, that the King may know of our maters, for which a flying packet ought not to be spared.

27. LORD MELVILL TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

8 August 1689.

I have communicate all your Grace did wrett to me to the King upon the firt and seconf relation of the engadgement betwixt Generall Major Mackey and the Viscount of Dundee. His Majestie not only ordered the Dutch and English forces that wer in the north of England to march unto Scotland, but also a confiderable body of thofe forces that wer at Chester, who wer to goe for Irland, wer appointed to be transported to Scotland ; but when his Majestie understood affaires wer not fo badd as at firt represented, thofe at Chester wer countermanded : and now upon your Graces laft letter wherein your Grace thinkes the forces you have already may be sufficient to reprefs thofe that ar in armes againſt you, there is a flope put to moſt of thofe that wer ordered to march ; fince, unleſs neceſſity required, it would be burdenſome to the country to have many horses ſent : I heerewith ſend your Grace a copy of what the King hath wrett to the Councell in relation to the indemnity by them.

His Majestie commanded me to ſignifie to your Grace that he would caufe appoint ſome frigatts as you defired to cruise upon the weſtern coaſt of Scotland, as also that upon your Graces letter wherein was the firſt relation of the engadgement, his Majestie had ordered the perſons of quality that wer in priſon with you, ſhould be ſent heere to London, yett now that circumſtances ar altered, he defires they may be kept in Scotland until his further pleaſure. His Majestie approves what the Councell hath don in reſtricting the prohibition for coming out of the country, now fince ther seems no ſuch neceſſity as a litle agoe for one of a larger ex-taſt. I am likewaies commanded by his Majestie to tell you, that he deſires execution to be delayed as to thofe officers of dragouns who have confeſſed ther guilt till his Majestie ſignifie his pleaſure anent them.

I just now heare of ane exprefſe come from Chester confirming the raifing of the feige of London Dary ; they talke that the late King James

should be gone from Dublin and its not knownen wher, but this last needs confirmation.

28. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO THE EARL OF LEVEN.

MY LORD,

Strathboggie the 17th Agust 1689.

I have wryten fully to my Lord Portland of your praiseworthy behaviour in the late occasion ; I sent according to his desyre a perticullar account of the whole to my Lord your father so far as I can remember, to be put in a neter dresse and shwon to his Majestie. Your Lordship so far as may depend upon me, hath free liberty to goe for London, for I believe much shall not be undertaken more this yeare, and your Lordships regement is render'd incapable to serve in haste. Your Lordship can give a good eneugh account of the Athole and Perthshire men, and for Angus wee found them in a very bad disposition if their intentions were not prevented by my march. I have no tyme to ansuer letters presently because I want all affistance ; I wish your Lordship a good journey, and myself, if maters were appeased, out of this country ; for if things be not beter regulated, a man must either negle&t the Kings service or in a shорт tyme confume himself. I am allwayes, My Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

29. A SHORT RELATION as far as I can remember, of what past before, in and after the late defaite in Athole, of a parte of their Majesties forces under my command.

Strathboggie the 17th Agust 1789.

After neare three months chicane with a very small parcell of forces against a numbrus ennemy, and at last having oblidged them to disperffe

and fepperat, and having left the north well secured, I returned to Edinbrugh to haften the necessary preparations for the designe I had formed to goe to Lochaber and secure a strong garilon in the heart of the Highlands, as in my judgement the most faisable and readyest way to subdue those Highland rebels, but met with such delayes before the number of eight hundert hors for the transporting for a fortnights subsistence of meal only, that the ennemy who questionlesle was advertif'd of our designe, had tyme to gather together his forces depending of severall Highland chiefs, and to march to Athole to secure that countrey (capable to put twelve or fifteen hundert men under arms) for their party, which I had certainly prevented if the hors and provisions had not been too slowly furnished ; of this I accuse none, for I beleeve it was want of use mor than any thing els which occasioned it.

Cumming to St. Johnston ther was a leter shownen me from my Lord Muray, wifhing the perfon to whom it was sent might flew mee that a speedy march was alltogether necessary to prevent the junctiōn of his men with Dundie, which he shoule not be able to hinder if the said Dundee shoule prevent my cumming to that country ; upon which advertisement, having fix good battaillons of foot by mee, and about a hundert hors, having sent orders to four troupes more of hors and two of dragouns to follow in all diligence, I march'd to Dunkell, where I was informed that my Lord Muray had retired from before the castell of Blaire, my Lord Marquis of Atholls hous, upon which I presently judged that Dundee was marching into the countrey, which thoughts were confirmed by a leter from the said Lord Muray, who wrot that according to my desyre he had secured a passe by which I shoule passe conveniently with baggage and hors with eighty men, but sincē they were but countreymen and volontiers, he was not sure they shoule stay there long, wherupon I sent Lieutenant Collonel Lauder with 200 choice fuseliers of the whole army to keep the said passe till I shoule cum up. About 10 of the cloack I arryved at the said passe, and having met with my Lord Muray, he told me that the most parte of his men were gone from him to save their cattle

from the Highlanders ; with all that he thought he shoulde get them keep'd from joyning Dundee so long as he shoulde stay upon their head, but that by no means they wold joyn mee. I told him if beter could not be, he shoulde doe as he said, till they shoulde see the issye of the mater, so having past the said passe, before I got up the regement of Hastings and the Earle of Annandales troop which I left behind the baggage, left the ennemy or the Athole men, which I trusted as little, might fende a party to attack them behind, I discover'd the Highlanders approaching and gaining the heighths, and prett neare before I could get my men to the ground which I judged by their motion they wold be at ; so changing my march and facing with every battallion as it stood by a *quart de conversion* to the right, having viewed the ground where I judged a propos to range them, I made every regement march straight before its face up a steep bray, above which their was a plaine capable to containe more troupes then I had, and above that plaine the mater of a musket shot, a rysing of a hill above which and betwixt it and a great hill at his back Dundie had place eneugh to range his men, ; I could not have rang'd myn but upon one line, both because I wold not be outwinged nor obliged to draw so neare the ennemy having the advantage of the hill above us, by which he shoulde force us to attack him against the heighth or be incommodat with his too neare fire. The ennemy seeing mee ranged sooner then he thought, (having, as I beleeve, designed to cum down upon the same ground before I could get possession of it, in which case he shoulde have forced me over a river with his fire, which could not be without manyfest hazard of great disorder) he halted upon the heighth the space of more than two hours, wherin nothing past but som light skirmishing. At last towards sun setting they began to descend, and having made a ragged fire threw away their snaphans and ran down the hill with drawn broad swords and targes ; the battallion of Hastings which was ranged upon the right hand, because the rest were drawn up in order before it had past the defile; that of my regement, my Lord Levens, and Kenmore with the half of Ramsays battaillon made prett good fire, the other half of Ramsays, with Balfours whole battaillon, and

Lauders detachment of 200 men, gave ground, or rather fled without any firing. When the ennemy came down I hade my eye much upon their hors, which I judged scarceley so strong as our two troops, and, having remarqued that they seemed to attack much about the midle of the line, when I perceived the most parte of our fire spent, I called out the said two troops which I had behinde the lyne by an interval, of a designe to cause one of them flanck the approaching Highlanders to the left and the other to the right, which certainly had been of such effect had they the resolution to obey their orders, and wold have so encouradged the foot that in all appearance the Highlanders wold soone have run for it, but the said hors not advancing, notwithstanding I brought them up myself, and that the Lord Balhaven who commanded them did behave very honestly ; after a little confused firing they renversed upon the Lord Kenmores right wing and so begun the first breach so neare as I could remarque ; Dundee with his hors wheeling to our right came upon the battaillon of my regement, by whose fire according to their own confession, both Dundie, Pit-kur, one Ramsay and others were killed at the first onset, but in a very short tym all did run except a parte of the Earl of Levens regement, which by the diligence and firmity of the said Earle with his Lieutenant Collonel, Major and other officers, and a parte of Colonel Hastings regement, which, after they had lost ground, the Colonel with his Lieutenant Colonel and other officers brought up againe, and kept the feeld of battail.

When all had scoured of which stood about me, so that I found myself abandoned in the midst of the ennemys, I pearced throw them, being well horf'd, and feeing som red coats in the feelds, I went to them, and sent presently after the runawayes, desyring the officers to doe their out-most endeavour to get as many rallied as possiblly they could, but after neare an hours expectation, till it begun to be dark, and feeing the ennemy preparing of all sydes to attack mee, having in all but about 400 men which wee could not possiblly bring in any order, and receiving notice that none of the officers could persuade their men to stand, much less

to return back, having advertis'd the men to march of softly, wee retired in the best order wee could over the litle river, and so retired by such wayes as I judged should be the seurest, and wold evit the rencontre of the Athole men, who, as I was informed of officers and soldiers afterwards, killed more men, and made more prisoners, three tyms over, then Dundies men, for wee judged that the enemey lost more men in the fight then wee did in this occasion. I could learn of no commanding officer that misbehayed, though I confess that my Lord Leven, Colonel Hastings and their officers have distinguisched themselves in this occasion above all others. The Brigadier Balfour, my brother, and others were killed after their men abandoned them. Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder was abandoned of his party, and labour'd without succes to rallie them ; Colonel Ramfay, the same ; but two mile from the feeld of battaill, he gather'd about two hundred men, with which he join'd me, when I came of, marched then with about 6 or 700 men throw the Highland wayes, till I came to Castell Drumond, where I had a garison ; and Monday, from thence to Sterling ; Twpesday, I dispach'd order to the Lord Colchester's regement with all the troops of new levied hors and dragouns thereabouts to the number of 400, and with them on Wednesday took my way to St. Johnston, both to hinder the junction of the flires of Perth and Angus with the ennemys, and to keep them in the hills. At St. Johnston wee surprized a party of a couple of hundred men, wherof 150 were killed ; thither I sent for the three battaillons that were left of the Hollands regements, with Sir John Laniers and Hayfords regements, ordering Sir John when he shold cum vp to halt at St. Johnston till he heard from mee ; while vpon the ennemys motion to the Brays of Angus, I march'd with the hors and dragouns I had by me to Forfare, to hinder that flire from rysing in favour of the ennemys, and vpon their further motion over the hills to Aberdoneshire, I went to the town of that name, and from thence approached the ennemys nearer ; but judgeing by the nature of his post fit to receive such as wold cum in to him both from the high and low countreys I sent for Hayford and Livingstons dragouns, having for dispache taken no Infanterie with

mee, to oblige them to leave that post, which regements joyn'd me the laft of them this day. I am of oppinion, and my intelligence doth confirme it, that they shall soon weary of it, if they get no foudain succour from Ireland. Tomorrow I intend to march in sight, if the ennemy doe not draw to the hills. This is a short summaire of what paſt as to the late affaire, but certainly the ennemy is in a wors ſtate now then before his victory, for he durft never fet his noſe in the Low Country, becauſe I was over all to oppoſe him.

H. MACKAY.

N. B. That before the ingadgement I made a ſpeech to every battaillon, repreſenting that not only their honour, religion, countrey and fidelity to their Majefties required they ſhould behave themſelves manfully, but alſo the conſideration of their own lives, which could not eſcape if they ſhould turn their backs to their ennemys, becauſe they were ſpeedy a foot, and that Atholemen wold be wors to them then ennemy if they ſhould be brock vpon; which they all anſwered with the greateſt cheerfullneſſe imaginable, that none of them ſhould abandon me, which moſt of them belyed shortly after.

The English officers of hors begin extremely to repyne to ſee their hors fo ill accommodat in theſe Highland countrys, where it begins to be cold and rainy. Colcheſter and Berckley have ſuffered very much this cam-paigne, fo that they ſhall hardly get theſe regements right, except the King help them with ſom money to make vp their loſſes. I am obligeſ to ſpeak for them, becauſe I found them very well inclined and ready for their Majefties ſervice, as all the English forces which ſerved with me this yeare have ſhownen themſelves. I shall be obligeſ to return them very ſhortly to quarters ſince the Highland army is ſeperat.

*For the Right Honourable my Lord Melvill
his Majefties ſole Secretary
for his auncient kingdom of Scotland,
Whithall.*

SO. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Strathboggie, the 17th [August] 1689.*

I send your Lordship an account of the affare which fell out in Athol, both before, in, and after the occasion till this tyme. I sent to the counsell fom direc^tions what is further to be vndertaken ; the want of som fregats to be employed against thoſe Islanders which are joyn'd doth hinder much, for they could burn and ruine their countreys ; tis not my fault, for its long ſince I wrot of it, I am ſure three of the ſmallest rates could not be beter employ'd ; the account which I ſend here incloſed your Lordship may cauſe wryt over againe in a beter forme. I ſend herewith a liſte of the vacancies of my regement, and the perſons I recommend to them. I am ſo vnprouided of all things for the ſubſiſtence of the troops as to money provision and tents, that if the ennemy knew our inconvenience, they wold oppiniatre the more without doubt ; the raiſon of the want of money is, that the troupes were ſo fuddainly called out, and ſuch as are pay'd out of England had no tyme to get it from Edinbrugh and the Scots are pay'd by precepts, which they had no tyme to get in. Tents wee want generally, for this body of hors and dragouns except Levington. I doe not know how my meſures ſince the deſfeat will be repreſented to, or reliſh at Court, but ſure I am, that it was the viſible means which occaſioned that the ennemy got no greater advantage by it ; I doe things as I judge them moſt advantagious for the ſervice, and not to ſatisfy every crittique fancy ; his Maſteſty is a good judge, and may be ſure he never betray the intereſt of his ſervice, nor the truſt which he hath put upon me ſo far as my judgement can penetrat ; tis diſſicult to be miſfortunat and free of blame at ons, but I ſubmit to Providence.

Lauder pray'd mee to recommend his intreſt to your Lordship. His Colonel is certainly killed as well as my brother, he is brauve eneugh, and affectioned to his Maſteſties ſervice as any to whom he can give the regement. I am marching this day towards the ennemy with a conſider-

able body of hors and dragouns, to see if I can make them take the hills againe, for I dont wee shall not get them in any attackable ground. I am allways, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I wrot to my Lord Portland concerning your son, whose behaviour in the last occasion was beyond any thing that could be expected of a longer experience. I send here also a liste of Sir Thomas Livingstons vacancies ; I placed feveral subalterns in his regiment, for the necessity of the service, having but 3 or 4 officers in the regement, besydes the imprifon'd. If his Majestie wold send mee a power for so doing, I question not but he wold be beter served then with the London recommendations. As I have not met with the officers of the other two battaillons since they returned to garison, I know not what vacancies they may have.

31. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

St. Johnston, the 26 August 1689.

Beeing cum here with the regements of Hayford and Colchester, and three troops of Scots hors, I intend tomorrow for Athole, leaving here a battaillon of foot, three troops of dragouns, and two of hors, for the security of the town, and a hundert men in my Lord Marquis of Athols hous of Dunkell. I finde no security to receive the Athole men except they be disarmed, for all they will doe now is but by force, and though they shoud sweare fidelity, I doubt much of their performance if they did see a faire occasion to break their ingadgement ; neither doe I conceive how they can secure the peace by baile, except the Marquis of Athole and his souns were taken baile for their good behaviour, who have more need to be bailed themselves for ought I see ; however, I would gladly know the counfells mynd in it ; meantyme I shall let them feel the foly of resisting the government, if quickly they doe not shew such submision as I shall be

satisfied with, and have sent them word that if they should offer to burn the Castle of Blair, I shall not leave a house standing betwixt it and Dunn-kell. The government may see what rogues they are; for after the indemnity was published, they joyn'd with the other rebels, so that there is no state to be made upon them. If there be no way to garrison strongly their country, which cannot be done if that house were burnt, as is reported they have a mind to do, I am apt to believe if the rebels be put out of Athole that they will separate, and if they get no encouragement out of Ireland, will not in haste assemble again so numerous. I wish there were more petards sent, for the mines though we had such as could lodge them well, wold render the houses useless for us; and the canon signifies no more than musquets against such old walls, which wold require a good whiles battering of better pieces to force them; if the council pay not the troops and companies but upon their present foot, they'll not be able to recruit them, so that if their Lordships have a mind to intertaine so many forces, they ought to pay them upon the foot of their first muster, and oblige them to be compleat againe such a tyme, which is all at present, from my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

32. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Blair Castle, the 30th August 1689.

Since my last to your Lordship from Strathboggy, the enemy finding he could advance nothing in the north, I being continually in his way, and betwixt him and all communication with the low country, he turned southward by the same way he went north, and I followed him as close as I could, considering I wold not ingadge myself in any bad ground with horses and dragoons, only leaving Sir Thomas Livingstone with his own regiment which I had called from Inverness, three troops of Cardross dragoons, and six troops of the new levies in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.

In the meane tyme, the counsell order'd the regement of Angus to Dunkell, where the enemy having a shourt cut over the hills, arryved before either Sir John Lanier, who was nearer, or I could be vp, and attacked the said regement, which lay very oppen from all hands, but was beat of with som losse of their men. Sunday therafter, I cam vp to S^t Johnston, and Monday marched to Dunkell, and so fourth to Blair, where I found the castl emty and intier, which might be the ffeſt of a threatening meſſage I ſent vp the countrey as ſoon as I arryved at S^t Johnston, that if the Caſtle of Blair were burnt, I wold not leave a hous ſtanding betwixt it and Dunkell. I had ſom of the countrey gentlemen by mee to have the benefit of his Majefties gracious indemnity, but I told them, ſince they could not otherwyſe fecure the peace ſufficiently, they muſt bring in all their arms, affuring them as then of the prote^{ction} of the government, but that I could not judge it fecure eneugh to receive them vpon their bare fwearing of the oath of alledgeance. To morow I expe^ct the anſwer of ſom of them, and ſhall be oblidged to deale rigourouſly with ſuch as ſhall refuse to cum in vpon thoſe termes, for they have ſhewen ſo much enmyt to the government allready, that wee cannot be ſure of them otherwyſe; meantyme the Highlanders are ſeparat, and each returned to his own home, from whence I fancy they will not gather in haſte ſo compleetly, except they have incouradgement from Ireland, and I am of oppinion if they let paſſe the limited tyme preſcryved by his Majeftie for their ſubmiſſion, that it ought not to be given them any more, but to rouse them out of the nation as the bane thereof, perticullarly the Lochabrians. If the fregats which had order to faile about this north, to joyn Rooke, had order to receive direc^tions from mee, they had notably contributed to force them to obedience, for Macklean, Macdonald and Clanranald, who are of the conſiderableſt of them are Islanders, and ſoon subdued with 3 or 4 frigats and ſom land forces abord of them, which wold certainly fo dishearten the reſt, that they wold quickly give it over. I am now about the garifoning of ſom places in the neareſt highlands, it being imposſible without ſterving of the forces, to think to place any forces at Innerloch

for this yeare, the faifon being so far advanced, that wee cannot expe&t much more faire weather, and no poſſibility to be ſupply'd with victualls but by ſea, which is very uncertain, except it were there before us, I make no queſtion but it may be an eaſie mater to make this kingdom peaceable, if things go well in Ireland and at ſea, as I hop they ſhall, by the bleſſing of God. My Lord, if the King ſend down ſubaltern officers to Colonel Levington's dragoons, he ſhall loſe thereby fev'rall good and ſerviceable officers which I have been oblidged to cauſe place for the neceſſitie of the preſent ſervice, ther being after the diſcovery of their traifonable deſſeyn, but 4 ſubalterns in all, with the Colonel and Major, for all officers in the regement. I wrot for ſom comiſſions alſo for my own regement, of which I ſent a liſte, in tyme of war; and at this diſtance it ought to be muſh left to the Commander-in-Chief to place officers, if he be known to be a man who principally doth regarde the int'reſt of the Kings ſervice in chooſing of officers; for the finall number alſo in the three regements upon ſuſh ſtrong companies, hath no queſtion contributed to their diſorder, in the late occaſion. One Lieutenant Arnault of Balfour's regement hath behaved himſelf very honeſtly, and is a carefull officer, who had his Colonel's promiſe to be recommended to the firſt vacant compagnie of his regement, which hath fallen out to be the Colonel's own, he deſerves it very well, and your Lordſhip will have no diſcredit in recommending him. I am extreamly weary of this fort of war, and is certainly more fit for a man of fewer years and more accuſtumed with the maner of the country, then for mee, ſo that nothing but my zeale for their Majeſties ſervice and the int'reſt of the protestant religion, could make it ſupportable to mee; ſo that if that be ſo far ſecured this yeare as to confine the rebeſſels ſo within their own hills as that they cannot trouble the government, or that they happen to ſubmit to it, I hop his Majeſtie will have the goodneſſe to permit mee to take my winter quarters in Holland, if it pleaſe God I live ſo long, and that the neceſſity of his ſervice doe not otherwayes require; for I can affiſſe your Lordſhip, that I have wretſled not only with a great waikneſſe of body for the moſt

parte of the tyme I have been in this kingdom, but also with great fatigues, inconveniences and difficultys, perticullarly to get the forces to subsift, by raison of the flow and irregular methods of the government in thos things to which they have been so little accustomed, together with the fkearity of money, without which the most knowing will but slowly advance matters, except wee should make war as the Highlanders, by giving liberty to commit all sorts of disorder and violence, in which case wee could keep an army as good as theirs of the same sort of people, but I wold never be the Commander of such an army. Our new levies have not proved generally very good, especially the foot regements, I mean the levies orderd by the Convention of Eſtats ; for my Lord, your fons regement, as well as our new recruits have ben in good order before they were shater'd at the late bad rencontre, though, I thank God for it, the Kings ſervice hath loſt nothing except the loſſe of ſom few honest men, whos tyme was cum. I am alwayes, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient fervant,

II. MACKAY.

MY LORD,

Since this leter was wryten, the moſt pairt of the Athole men are cum in, and have taken the oath of allegiance and delyver'd their arms up upon oath that they have none els ; I intend to leave betuixt four and five hundert men here in garifon of the new levies, notwithstanding of what I wrot above. If with the expences of ſom few thouſands of pounds wee could break this Highland combination, I judge it wold be advantagious for their Majefties ſervice, for then the King might imploym his forces more usefully elsewhere ; ſom propositions have been made to mee, that a pardon for what he did laſt yeaſt againſt Mackentoifh, with a gratification of ten thouſand mareks to help to pay the faid Mackentoishes pretentions, that his family might be able to ſubſift, wold not only make Keppoch ſubmit, but contribut to break the reſt of the combination ; this I had to day

from the Laird of Caldell, it might be of good effect if he be sincere. I have wryten to my Lord your son, to speak to Caldell of it.

33. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Blair Castle, the 30th August, 1689.

I have framed this leter as preffing and urging as I could, and that according to my judgement and the knowledge which I may pretend to have in som measure of such affaires; and I judge it were not amifs, if your Lordship let som of the most zealous for their Majesties service and intreft of the English government see it, for I suppose it is plaine truth and matter of fact; it is absolutely dangerous to disarme in this countrey till things be better fitted for it, having so great a circuit of countrey to garde, and so many bosom ennemys, who (though pretended Protestants,) the devell doth so far posseffe, that at leaft consequentially they wish for nothing more in all appearance then the ute ruine and extirpation thereof, by wishing and labouring (as much as in them is, and as far as the safty of their intreft God can allow) for King Jameſes restoration, your Lordship wold preffe a finall resolution, otherwyſe ther shall be an inevitable generall complaint when the forces shall want pay; and consider this one argument more upon the matter against a caſſation in ſuch a tyme, that wee may haply have many of thoſe wee diſmisſ, nixt day in arms againſt us, ſo that it were better never to have levyed them, then diſband them during the Rebellion, and when they have learned ſomething of their trade, at leaſt as to the handling of their arms; if the Dains be to cum this winter, they ought to be here ſhortly, and if they wer ons reembarqued, I hope I may without the leaſt hazard, be ſpared from here during the winter faſon, and if nixt ſpring, (God ſparing lyf and ſtrength,) his Majestie judge me more uſefull here then elsewhere, I ſhall be allwayes ready, judging that I can hardly have it wors than this laſt yeaſe, both as to my indiſpoſition of body, and laik of all things neceſſary, as well as

perfons to employ, understanding the right notion of matters, as I did myself of this kingdom, whence I have been so long absent, otherwyse I had infifted more then I did to have a greater force down with mee which was the occasion this Rebellion was begun, and if begun not quickly ended ; but let us not fall in the same failings againe by an unsafionable disbanding, which will strengthen and continu it in all appearance. Upon the arryall of four troops of hors and dragoons which I ordered to the North, (to fortifie the body that lyes there,) under the command of my nephew, all the enemys deffeyns upon that countrey vanisched prefently ; all their winter attempts, (provided wee continu formidable) will be but to fleale cowes. I have wryten to my Lord Rosse, wherein I blame their heats, and shew the disadvantadge of it confidering the prefent juncture ; I wish with all my heart, thos persons might be fo disposed before they cum down, that his Majestie might with satisfaction let his parlement meet againe ; I have given them all the raisons I was capable of to persuade them to more moderat proceedings. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

34. LORD CARDROSS TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Perth, 3 September 1689.

Since my laft nothing hath occured in these parts worthy the troubling you. By a letter yesternight from General Major Makay at Blair of Athol, I finde that the badnes of the weather in these parts, the want of tents and the fearfy of privisiones, will keep him from a further progres for this feason ; he designed a garrisone for Finlarigg, and for that end to have marched there, but that the weather stoped him, he says he findes the army cannot march three days from a toun but the forces will run the hazard of sterving ; that which occasiones this is the badnes of the way that cartes cannot pafs, and that baggage-horses cannot be gott ; this con-

sifts with my particular knowledge, for I have the greateſt diſſiculty to gett horses to carry what ammunition and proviſiōnes ar gone from this to the army; and when the horses wer at laſt gott, it was allwayes later then ought to have been. I know no way, my Lord, to prevent this for the future, if his Majeftie doe not appoint a Commissary for baggage-horses, to call for what horses ar needed at ſo much as is reaſonable for the mile, and to pay them dueſly accordingly, and to reſtore there horses at the ap- pointed ſtage, except ane abſolute neceſſity obſtruct it. My Lord, my brother William deſigning for London, and will probably be the bearer herof, I intreat your Lordships favour to him, for I am ſure he hath a heart full of duey and loyalty to our King and Queen, and is a faithfull fervant to your Lordſhip. I hope your Lordſhip will finde him not alto- gether unworthy of paſticipating of his Majefties favours at this time of his diſpoſing of them. You may be ſure, my Lord, that what you doe for him will much oblige, my Lord, your Lordships moſt faithfull and moſt humble fervant,

CARDROSS.

35. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD, *Edinburgh, the 10 Septembre 1689.*

Since my laſt I reduced the countrey of Athole to their Majefties obe- dience, and diſarmed all who did not prefer their arms to a fals oath, which tyme muſt diſcover, for I have left order with the Commander to make a ſearch of the houſes of ſuch as may be ſuſpected to have concealed them, I have put 500 men in gaſtioſon at Blair Caſtle, and order'd a *chemin couuert* and a palliſade round about it, in ſuſh a forme as the ground wold admit of, ſo that that poſte is prety well ſecured, as it fhall ſecure a great parte of the Highlands; for I reckon that Athole was a large third parte of the rebeſs strength; the bad weather and great rains have chaffed mee out of the hills ſooner then I thought; but though I fent the Engliſh hors

and dragouns to a quarter of fourage, except that of Hayford, which (according to an intimation I had from Mr. Blaithwait of an order of the King to that purpos) I sent straight to Kirkubright to be shipp'd over for Ireland ; I keep a parte of the Scots forces with the three intire battaillons of our regements lodged in and about St. Johnfton, to take the occasion of the first faire weather to place two or three garifons more to shut up the Highlanders in their hills, and cover the low countreys. I am of oppinion that the neck of this rebellion is broken, if all succour from Ireland be hinder'd, as I am hopfull it shall. Very many cum in dayly to take the benefit of his Majesties gracious indemnity, and I beleeve many more wold cum in if they had tyme ; but to-morrow the terme is out, so that the door is shut if ther be no new prolongation : I wold wish, nevertheleffe, that his Majestie take no more regements as yet, till we see what this and the nixt month shall produce, though I confess that the English hors cannot recruit so conveniently here as in England ; but hors is the great feare of Highlanders, for the fame forces which beat mee three thousand men formerly I keep in ther hills and hinder'd from all communication with their favourers, who were in no small number, with the mater of 400 hors and dragouns, most new levies, the ennemy being recruited with severall other Highlanders who were not present at the action. This day the Earle of Braidalbin is cum in and hath taken the oath of allegiance and found baile, as did also Southesk and Strathmore, and to-morrow the Earle of Calender, with the Lords Levingston and Duffus, are to be received upon the fame terms, but ther is none of the chief combined Highlanders have made their application as yet, but it is no great hazard ; for if their Majesties other affaires goe well, with the help of the garifons which I shall take in poſſeſſion, they can ſoon and eaſily be subdued nixt yeare, and all the Highlands of Scotland reduced to as peaceable a ſtate as the lower partes, ſo that the forſaltures of the obſtinat will make up as well the expences of that expedition as the loſſes well affected perſons have receiv'd by them. Colonel Canan is in no reputation or eſteeme by them, for he and Dunfermeling doe nothing but drink acquavity, as I am informed

by people who are cum in from them. The whole north is very peaceable at present. I received a line from your Lordship concerning his Majesties instructions to Sir Allexander Bruce. I shall give him a route where to finde the regements and troops pay'd by this kingdom ; they are generally waike, by reason of som rude marches to which they were oblidged, perticularly the hors, but more espeially the troops of Annandale and Balhaven, who were in the unlucky action of Athole, though I thank God their Majesties service, as things by his blessing, have been manadged since hath suffer'd nothing by it ; the troupes cannot be well recruited till I assigne them their winter quarters, which I doe not resolve to doe till nixt month. Ther are many ill men, I mean unfit for service, among the foot regements, and have great want of experienced officers ; they have received precepts for the month of Agust, so that they are nothing behinde. I had no tyme all this Campaigne to look after the modelling of them, or bringing them to a better forme, so that they are very raw and new as yet, but this winter (if ther wer a person of good capacity made use of as drill-master, to fee them well exercised and muster out the ill men) might put them in beter order. My Lord, ther is one Mr. Forbes, master gunner of the Castle of Edinburgh, who, to my knowledge, so long as I was here, and by the testimony of Sir John Lanier, and the Brigadier Balfour before his death, hath been of great use for the reduction of the said Castle by his continuall and undeffatiquable pains ; upon which account, before my last march from this place, I gave him a provisionall order to exercise the charge of Lieutenant of the Arteyllerie, ther being none so fit for it, Sletcher having absolutely denied to serve his Majestie at my arryall from England ; and Duree, though usefull as an Ingeneur, not understanding the Arteyllerie so well as this man, therefore I earnestly defyre that your Lordship wold be pleased to speak to his Majestie, that he may reward his services with the place of Lieutenant of his Arteyllerie in Scotland, which will be a notable incouradgement to him to continow his faithfull services upon all occasions, as well as to others to follow the exemple of such as they see consider'd for their for-

wardneffe and fidelite in their Majesties service. I am not of oppinion that Sletcher shoulde be employ'd any more in this kingdom, having refused to serve when ther was most need of him. I pray your Lordship to let me have your answser upon this as well as other things concerning the service whereof I have wryten to your Lordship in my former letters, not forgetting the commissions of subalterns for Colonel Levingtons regement, whereof severalls are provisionally placed by my orders, judging it for the service, that such a body commanded heretofore by disaffected men should not be without officers upon their head, in a tyme when ther was expected dayly occasion to employ them ; this is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I beg pardon for troubling your fervants with my leters to put them upon the peny-post, that for the Secretarys your Lordship will have the goodneffe to cause delyver.

36. MAJOR GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My LORD, *Edinburgh, the 16th Septembre 1689.*

Since (God be thanked) that it is lyck to goe well with the Kings service so well here as in Ireland, I am of oppinion if the commision to my Lord your son and to me, were continued, that wee could finde a way to break the Highland combination, which at the beft that affaires can goe, will allwayes save his Majestie more money then it will cost him, for I am for certain informed that Maclean makes no profession of poperie, and if so be, in securing him from the uter ruine that he apprehends by my Lord Argiles credit, he can be brought of in my oppinion, and his falling away from them wold quickly oblige the rest to look to their safty. Tis not because that I apprehend any undertaking of theirs for

this winter which can trouble the government, that I make this propofition ; but befydes the advantage of fetling maters with the firft, I judge it not the Kings service to ruine thofe auncient familys, that a nighbour might be made too great thereby, but rather that the King ſhould pay his pretention in mony, then to let him have ſuſh a command, who certainly hath not all the neceſſary command over himſelf, but is too much caryed with paſſion againſt the familys to which he beleeves he doth oſt a preju-
dice, as he hath diſcover'd lately in Athole. My Lord your ſon will wryt more fully of this mater.

If the King hath not ado with all the Danish forces in Ireland, I could wiſh he did let a few of them over winter in Scotland. I did wryt to the Secretary at war about it, for the regements of Colcheſter and Berckly are capable of little ſervice till they be recruited, and Laniers, Hayfords and Haſtlings are marching for Ireland, where I wiſh they were all ready, for if things goe well there, wee'l have the leſſe to doe here. I hop the King will permit mee, in ordre to my better preparation for the nixt campaigne, where his ſervice ſhall require to make a ſtep for Holland this winter, to ordre my family and little affaires. I am of oppinion that it wold be for his Majeftie's ſervice to make Sir George Munro of his pryyv counſel, and to give him ſom penſion to ſtay allwayes at Edinburgh ; for though he be old and infirme, he is yet of a ſound judgement, and his advice both in military and civil affaires, wold be of great affiſtance to the councell, for he can in all things which might occur, aſlift them to give pertinent orders to the reſpective officers in their feveral quarters where I ſhall place them. He is certainly a well-wiſher of this caufe, and is now a Parlement member, choſen ſince your Lordſhip went up. I pray your Lordſhip to let me have your oppinion upon theſe particullars, which I propofe only for the Kings ſervice. Sir George hath his judgement and memorie as fresh yet as he had thirty years agoe, and understands per-
fectly the Highlanders, and how to deale with them ; if his Majeftie will doe this, hee and I will project before I ſhould goe from this, if I be per-
mitted, what meaſures moſt be followed to proceed againſt them if they

should not submit ; this is all at present from my Lord, your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I pray your Lordship to send the inclosed to the Earle of Portland.

37. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbruch, the 16 Septembre 1689.

This gentleman bearer hereof, Henry Rolo of Woodfyde, being a person very well affected to their Majesties service and the Protestant religion, and by me put in trust of the command of the Castle of Blakneffe, when I came down from the King, as a person in whom I could trust for the custody of prisoners; I pray your Lordship to recommend him to his Majestie to be continued in the said post, being assured he cannot put a more deserving person in that place, according to the testimony of all such as know him. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

38. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 16th Septembre 1689.

This gentlewoman being the widow of one of the Captains of my regiment, kill'd in the late occasion with the rebels, I could not refuse her a recommendation to your Lordship, in case ther be any allowance for such persons ; her husbands name was Lamy : his Majestie knowes the people ; he was a brave man, and had taken himself up lately so well, that I was resolv'd to recommend him for his advancement when occasion should offer. The most parte of the officers of my battaillon were kill'd upon the spot ; my brother, Lamy and Captain Angus Mackay, who were as brave as any men could be, were shot, and afterwards being abandoned of their men, dispatch'd with broad swords ; my nephew Captain Robert Mackay,

who was a young man, and his first service before an ennemy, fought stoutly for his lyf, and disingadged himself, having received four considerable wounds of broad swords in his head and body, to whom my Lord your son having met with him in his wounds, generoufly gave his own hors to cary him of, till his servant at last came up with his own; and my Captain Lieutenant Mackenzie was left mortally wounded among the dead, and was helped of therafter when I marched of the feelds with the feu men that stood, so that all the Captains of the battaillon I had there, were either killed or doe beare the marks of their good behaviour; besydes that I lost about fix very good subalterns, and brisk fellows. I pray your Lordship to doe your best to get som consideration for this poor widow. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

There is another poor widow (a strenger) of one Lt. Chambers of Colonel Balfours regement, whose husband was kill'd there also, and was a resolut man according to the testimony of his officers, whom I recommend also to your Lordships charitable offices by their Majesties.

39. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbruch, the 23d September 1689.

The bearer hereof I recommended together with Captain Lamys widow to your Lordship by another leter; but being with child and not able to goe by land, shee importuned me for this second recommendation; her husband was one Chambers, Lieutenant in Colonel Balfour's regement, and killed in the late occasion in Athol; shee is a strenger and expects som charity of their Majesties; her husband was known to be a brave fellow. I doe recommend her then to your Lordships charitable offices, being, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

40. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Edinbrugh, the 11th Octobre 1689.*

Understanding that ther might be som thoughts of putting others in the charges hitherto officiated by Mr. Hamilton of Binny, I cannot in justice forbear to testifie that I have found him affectioned to their Majesties service and the present cause, ready and diligent to goe about his duty so far as deppended of him, and free to ingadge his own credit where the publick directions were wanting, not judging it the intrest of the service to change useful men, ons formed to the manadgement of their businesse, (and perticullar that of the Secretary at War,) to get in such as must be made to it ; therefore I wish he may be continued for the easse of such as shall happen to command their Majesties forces here. I have been this 10 or 12 dayes in Perthshire ordering the garisons; at the Blair ther are 500 men; at Finlarig 200, which are all the hous is capable of till convenience of beding be made, at Weemb 200, and at Camfinore, Cardros and Drumekill, 6 companies of the Earle of Angus's regement, which is not above 600 men at present ; with all I am certainly informed that the said Earles own companie was never in being: in my opinion it were best to reduce them to ten companies, for which ther might be found good officers and men of som service in the regiment, and who are not of the wilde principles ; but if it be continued a regement, ther ought presently be sent a good Lieutenant Colonel, a man of service to it ; upon the noyse that the Highlanders were resolved to disquiet again the northern shires, I order'd som hors and dragoons over Spey, and if need be upon further advertiment Sir Thomas Levingston to follow them with more ; the forces are seperated in quarters as followes, my two battaillons with Blantires and Eglintons and Roffes troops at Sterling, Balfours two battaillons, Argiles with Newbottles and Grubets troops at Perth, Ramfays two battaillons with Annandale and Belhavens troops at Dundie, Angus and Cardros at

Monros, Brechen, Ardbroth and Forfare, Levingstons dragoons with the other six troops of hors, in the shires of Aberdene, Bamf, Moray, and so to Inderneff, with the regements of foot of Leslie, Strathnaver and Grant at Inderneffe, Fores and Elgin, to be drawn together upon advertisement of the commanding officer in thos quarters, the half regements of Mar, Glenkairne and Bargany, (the other 5 companies of each being in the garisons of Blair, Finlarig and Weemb.) I lodged at Cooper of Fif, Inderkethin and Dumfermeling, to be made up again, for they are scandelously waik ; Levins regement with six companies of Beuuridge are at Lieth and Canegate ; by this disposition the low countrey over all is guarded, and the forces so lodged, that in a shourt tyme a good body of them may be drawn together whether in the south or north ; but if this winter they interprise any thing, it will be to the north, because it doth lye neare them ; this is all I can inform your Grace of at present, save my being alwayes, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

41. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 12th Octobre 1689.

I received your Lordships of the 5th from Newmarket, insinuating his Majesties order to have from me the true state of the forces on foot in this countrey, with what regements and troops are fitteft to be keept up, fince ther is no money to pay the whole ; 'tis not poffible for mee at preſent to anſwer to the former, becaufe the nature of the countrey and the ſervice doth require their fepperation at no leſſe diſtance than betuixt Glasco and Inderneffe in a half circle, bordering the Highlands, in all which bounds I muſt take my meaſures ſo that where the Rebells (whofe strength when together is all in one body,) doe turn head or move, I may have preſently together wherewithall to make head to them, ſo that the

regements which lye be north Spey, I have not seen since the midle of July laft, after the Highlanders had separeate and I had formed a defleyn to goe to Lochaber, though I confes too late for any preparations I could get to effectuat it, but in generall I may say, that though many of the regements are little worth, yet the disbanding of them might be of evell consequnce till things be further advanced in Ireland, and my raiſon is, first, that the name of them doth keep the countrey in som aw, at laſt the low countrey, of which benorth Tay wee are not very ſure except ſom feu famiſyſ; nixt the great diſtance of countrey to garde over all, at laſt 200 miles, and the manyfold garifons to mantaine requires many men, beſyds that wee muſt have hors and foot over all to forme a body where thoſe Highlanders appeare and fall down, ſo that wee muſt make account to be obliſed to keep at laſt triple the number that they can be able to put together to withstand their attempts over all; the Highlands lying in a maſſe contiguous together, and furrounded with the low countrey, ſo that making a feinte to draw our forces north or ſouth, they may (cutting ſhort through the hills,) ſurprise other parts before the fame body could be bak again to oppoſe them; this is the true notion of this ſort of war, and the diſtution of the kingdom will let your Lordſhip or any other ſee it in the map, ſo that my opinion is clearly that none of the hors or dragouns be diſbanded this winter, if his Majeftie reſolve not to ſend others in their place, and that 6 battaillons of the new levied foot or at laſt five be kept on foot, for our regements and the Earle of Levens ought to be kept diſingadged from garifons to forme one body or more (according to the naſure of the ennemys interpryſes) when occaſion might require; for if a competent number of forces in the kingdom be wanting, ther shall appeare more ennemys then doth appeare as yet; the only apprehenſion of the forces and Duke Schombergs paſſage to Ireland being that which diſcouraged them, ſo that my opinion is, that his Majeftie ought rather to be at ſom expences to keep a formidaſe body on foot for this winter, then to hazard a longer continuation of the troubles of this kingdom, which is not yet ſo very fetled as could be wiſhed, though forces being layd as I have

and shall further appoint them ; I am perswaded the ennemy for this yeare cannot doe much harme ; if his Majestie resolve to break som of the foot, his favour ought to regulat it, for ther is litle difference, only that I beleeve the regements of Mar, Glenkarne and Blantire to be of the worst fort, alfo a battaillon of Angus might be brock ; but one good might be made of it if ther were a man of service put vpon the head of it, for the men are good, and ther may be for that number of good officers of som service, and not of their wilde principles got among them, I beleeve that Strathnaver and Grant have as good men as any of the rest ; I had no tyme all this yeare to look after the modelling of them, being continually ingadged against the Rebels since I came to Scotland except a feu weeks the beginning, and though my indeavours had not all the succes which humanly one might propose to himself in my chief ingadgement with them, neverthelesse the Kings affaires hath suffer'd nothing by it through Gods blesling vpon my present diligence to hinder the ennemy from the advantage which he proposed to himself thereby, and which certainly he had obtained if he had not met with present opposition, though my number was but very small, not exceeding 450 hors and dragouns most new and ill armed men. My Lord, though I wold gladly see my family and litle intreft, not knowing if it be not in this winter faison, when I can promis that satisfaction to myself again in tyme of war ; I submit to his Majesties pleafur, but since my being here in a tyme when the ennemy cannot keep long in a body, is only or mostly in regarde of direction, if your Lordship wold be pleased to promot by the King my proposition touching Sir George Munro, who is a man though old, as fresh in his judgement and memorie as any man that ever I did fee of his adge, and vnderstands exacly the countrey, and the intreft of the Highlanders, and how to give directions for their suppreffion, I make no queſtion but it wold contribut much to the ſervice : the King needs not imploym the in a generall character but to put him vpon the Pryvy Counſell, and let him have a penſion of two or three hundred pounds yearly to help to keep him at Edinbrugh. I am fully perswaded of his affection to the preſent caufe, for I had ocea-

tion to discours with him when I was in the North upon all maters relating to the present juncture of tyme and affaires, and had very good advice and satisfaction on that head from him ; moreover though I were to stay alwayes in Scotland, I wold wish to have such a man vpon the Counsell, perticullarly when the service should require my absence from the board ; pray then my Lord neglect not the representing of it to the King, for I can assure you that it is his service let other men aleage to the contrary what they will, for I declare that it is only a motion of myn, and that he nor none in his behalf hath ever broached it to me, and in so doeing, the King can safly spare mee for this winter out of the countrey, and nixt yeare his Majestie can judge where I can be most serviceable to him, in what command or quality he pleases, for I am not a man to value myself, becaus I am of opinion that not the servant but the master ought to be judge in that case, for I shall never be a mercenary servant to their Majesties, nor stand vpon conditions wherin they judge me vsefull for the promotion of their service.

But to return to the consideration of the forces, I pray your Lordship whatever the King resolve as to the foot, let not the hors and dragouns be reduced to a finalller number for a while yet, till things be better fixed in Ireland, and if his Majestie break more than 4 battaillons, they might be consider'd thus ; of Angus one battaillon, Glenkarns regiment, Mars regement, Blantires and Kenmores, for certainly they are the worst, and Angus though the men be good it can make but one battaillon at prefent ; if the hors be kept ther is a necessity to regement them, for they shall not otherwyse be capable of serving so well nor be so well cared for ; I pray your Lordship to mynd the master of Forbes, who hath shewed as much affection to their Majesties service and the present cause as any man in Scotland ; as did also Sir George Gordon of Edinglasse, who were very instrumentall to keep Aberdene and Bamfliires from joyning the ennemy when I was ingadged against them with small forces, before som was got on foot, I have no intreft therin but the Kings service, for they are neither my relations nor acquaintance till the occasion of his service

(by distinguisching themselves therin), did make them known to me. I will things be accommodated there, (the most leading men of the hous being up) before the next Session, God knowes that I seek no intreft thereby but the happy settlement of the kingdom under the most happy government of their Majesties, wishing that all the world called protestants were so self-denied therein, as I thank God I am, for I have no quarell against any, God knowes, but the publick quarell; and I may say to the Scots as Samwell said to the Israelites, that I have coveted no mans goods, nor ever thought to benefit myself therin to the prejudice of an other; yea the ennemys of my master can be my witnessesse, that if I used any rigour (which was very litle, or none at all in comparison of their deserts) it was soley upon the account of his service; after which protestations, if I should offer any advice as to the present divisions, none I am sure can do it with more liberty, being engadged in no party or interest, but that of their Majesties service, and the Protestant religion, for I make no essentiaill difference betwixt Presbiterienisme and Episcopacy, so their be no offending superftition, neither seek I any establishment or advantage in the kingdom. I crave your Lordships pardon for this long letter, but I cannot comprehend so much of my mynd, (which I find myself oblidged to communicat to you) in feu words, I pray your Lordship to make som reflexion upon the whole, and at convenient tyme to let his Majestie see it, since I never represent things to him but by the Earle of Portland and your Lordship, knowing that neither of you will faile in what is of his true service, so far as you can be informed of things. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I doe not know what will becom of our regements except their [be] som money sent down by sea, for wee can draw none here, Lauder hath brought along for his, but myn with Ramfays, and your souns doe want much. I heare there is a fregate to cum down; therfor pray be plesed my Lord, to move the fending som down that way, at least to the end of

Novembre, to serve. Vander Esch knowes how much of it wee want as yet. Wee have had hitherto much adoe to get credit for them, but I have made som litle for my own. If this occasion be let passe, wee may be reduced to great necessity. It were also fit more poudre, match and ball were sent down, for our magazins ought to be beter provided. The forces are generally ill armed, most of them being match locks.

42. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 15th Octobre, 1689.

I forgot to shew you, that what reports you might have had when you wrot your last from Newmarcket, of the rebels gathering again to a head, could not be tru, for I have no certain newes of it as yet, notwithstanding that upon the apprehenfions of som of our friends in the north I order'd Sir Thomas Levingston (whom I left with his own regement, and 6 companies of hors in Aberdeenshire, to secure the north when I was last there, observing the rebels motions, and to hinder them from profiting of their victory) to passe over Spey to Muray, with eight troopes of the 12, which he had by him, nether doe I beleeve that they will cum in any confiderable body abroad this winter, and though they shoule, provided the King break not too many of the forces, and perticullarly that he keep the hors and dragoons on foot, till he see how the affaires shall goe in Ireland ; they shall not do much harme, for they cannot lodge in the hills, nor safly descend to the low countrey for our hors and dragouns ; it is not apparent that they shall think of fortifying themselves at Innerlochy, because it wold be so much wortck don to our hand ; their best fortifications and fitteft for their purpos are the hills, woods and bogs. I have often intelligence out of those places ; all that makes them so oppinatire, is the spreading of fals newes among them, which was Dundies method, and is now cunningly contrayved by the priets. I pray you my Lord let your reflexions goe over the propofition which I made touching

Sir George Munro of Culrain, who is very fit to be in his Majesties counsel, for he is a man of long experience, and very affectioned to their Majesties and the present cause. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

43. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 22d Octobre 1689.

I have given my oppinion in my former leters concerning the forces, and how I apprehended that a cassation might give occasion to prolong the civill disturbances of this nation, by hardning the rebels against the government, and perticularly that I was not of oppinion any of the hors and dragouns shoud be licenciat for this winter, nevertheless not knowing what raifons his Majestie might have to the contrarie, I have delay'd to make a finall disposition of both hors and foot to their winter quarters, till I know whether the King will keep the whole, or what parte of them he shall be pleased to intertwaine in his pay and service, which resolution I wish your Lordship wold procure, and send down with all speed upon the forsaid confideration. I am of oppinion that a battaillon of the Earle of Anguses regement ought to be intertwaine so long as his Majestie may have occasion for such, because they behaved well against the rebels at Dunkell, as a testimony of his Majesties esteem, but they ought to be a man of service put upon their head, for at this tyme they shall scarcely make up the number of fix hunder men: nixt I doe judge that my Lord Strathnavers, and the Laird of Grant's regements are the best and compleetest; Barganys is composed of good men, but most of them Scots Irish, who came over last somer. Argils regement needs mending, which he promised to doe; the rest I wrote to your Lordship of by my leters in answere to your last; the distane to garde from the rebels attempts is very spacious, from Dumbarton to beyond Inderneffe, and the motions of forces from one place to another, not only uncertain, but many tymes

impossible in the winter saeson, as it hath been now for ten or twelve dayes together for the great rains and spets, and beleeve me, my Lord, that it is power and not affection that makes many in this kingdom submit to their Majesties hapy government, which shows by what spirit they are led, and that the Jesuits have gone a great length to attaine their desseyn of wiping all conscience of religion out of the hearts of the inhabitants of this ifland, that theirs might find the more easie ingresse with them, for surely of the vast number of discontented spirits, we have raifon to beleieve that very feu of them wold prefer the Protestant Religion even to their estates, though their lyves were not in hazard thereby, so that such as have acces to his Majestie, and are resolved to stand or fall with and for his government, ought to advise him to suitable measures, without regarde of being at som extraordinary expence till things be beter secured, for arms are *journaliere*, so that his Majesties forces elfwhere (by many accidents which all the humane prudence in the world somtymes cannot prevent) might happen to receive som *eschec*, without indangering much the generall intrest of his service, if men be garded against them, which otherwyse might prove of a facheous suite, if men were not provided against the desseyns which a little disadvantage wold set our ennenys upon from all hands ; nevertheless this is but my judgement, the value of which, I hop, wee shall not have occasion to essay. There is no newes here as yet of the Danish forces of which I admire extremely, the wind having been very good of a long tyme, and now at the wryting of this lyke to change. The English forces from here are landed in Ireland, and I wish ther were so many that the Duke were in condition to dispute for his winter quarters mere southerly, before either fiecknesse or the rigour of the weather oblige him to make use of such as are behind him. My Lord, I preffe yet as the intrest of the Kings service, the putting Sir George Munro with a pension of 300 ^{lib} upon the Privy Councell, in doeing of which, besydes the forsaide consideration, your Lordship hath that of your son, the Earle of Levens, being the first officer in rank in this kingdom in my absence, who, (though he be a person of as much capacity and firmity as can be found of his age and service

among his Majesties subiects, yea, and beyond men of much longer service in diligence and discretion, without flattering your Lordship) wold never the lesse be much the better of the folide directions of such an old and experienced fouldier and statsman; he is altogether a Protestant, and for their Majesties government, and though he be more a Presbiterian, as I beleieve, then Episcopall, yet not bigotly attached to a rigicie in either, which, in my opinion, is the more raifonable notion of the mater as to Scotland, if things could be concerted there, a settlement of a church government wold be very requisit in this kingdom. I pray your Lordship to let mee have assoon as possible his Majesties pleasure upon som of those heads, and beleieve mee allways, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

44. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 31st Octobre 1689.

I have pray'd your Lordship in my last to dispatch down his Majesties finall resolution as to the forces (which shall be kept on foot for this winter,) to the end I may order them in quarters as shall be judged most convenient for repelling the Rebels attempts, and keeping the ill-affected in awe, till the tyme of the yeare be propre for their finall reduction with Gods blesing upon their Majesties arms so well here as elsewhere. As I said before, my opinion is, not that they should be much retrenched in number, till things be further advanced and secured in Ireland, and I beleive that the readyest wayes for supplying of them with money for som mounths wold be, to ingadge such branches of the Kings revenues as doe not deppend of a gift of Parlement, to such perfons as wold advance money upon them till they be repayed of what soums they shall advance, that being the most necessary charge which his Majestie can be at here; I was founding som perfons already upon the head, who doe beleive money might be had thereby; I proposed nothing of it in counsell, neither doe I

oblidge the officers to recruite, but doe caufe pay them upon the foot of their prefent strength, till his Majesties further pleafur be known, which wold be fent without delay ; the very name of braking of forces at this tyme (our ennemys knowing that maters are not fo very cleare in Ireland as yet) wold make them more insolent, every litle appearance being ready to make them big with hops. Your Lordship hath never anſwer'd mee as to my proposition concerning Sir George Munro ; I have no other intreſt in it but the Kings ſervice, and I doubt whether any that shall aduycethe your Lordship to the contrarie do mind it fo ſincerely, at leaſt I can boldly ſay, that none in Scotland is in this caufe and their Majesties ſervice leſſe intereſted in any thing that I shall advance touching the maters of this kingdom, where I have fo much occaſion to diſcover mens partiality generally ; all that I can ſay as to the perſon I ſaid before, and though I were to be confined allwayes to this countrey, (which shall never be with my conſent longer then the neceſſity of their Majesties ſervice shall require) I wold be very deſyrous of the aduycethe of ſuch a man, I pray then, my Lord, let me know the Kings pleafur concerning it, for I wold gladly leave his ſervice here in as great ſecurity as I can, holding for granted, that his Majef- tie will permit mee to ſee my family this winter if the Dains were paſt ons.

My Lord, Sir George Gordon of Edinglaſlie, having diſtinguished himſelf in affection and readyneſſe upon all occasions to ferue his Majef- tie, and the intreſt of the Protestant religion, and the Pryvy Counſell upon the reiterat reports which I made of his unwearyed zeale and pains for the advancement of their Majesties ſervice, having recommended him to the King for the firſt vacant troop among the hors or dragouns ; and now the Laird of Blair being dead, I pray your Lordship to recommend him for his troop ; it will ſhew others that his Majef- tie is not inſenſible of honest mens ſervices, and be more ſerviceable in his hands then any two of the reſt, for he is a brauve ſturring man, beſydes, my Lord, that he hath got a conſiderable loſſe in his hous and lands, which were intirely plundered, when I was oblidged to make a retreat of 2 or 3 dayes this ſoumer before the Highlanders to joyn more forces, at which tyme he abandoned hous

and all to cum joyn mee. I pray you, my Lord, let it not goe by him ; the old man that commands it provisionally is not so fit ; I can assure you none in Scotland will do more service upon the head of it then hee ; I pray you also to be myndfull upon occasion of the master of Forbes, tis a family that hath beene kept at under these many yeares upon th' account that it was judged more Presbiterian then Episcopall, though allways very moderat, as is also this gentleman, one of the most generous youths and most throughly ingadged for this intreft of any I know in the kingdom, without the least regarde of what may follow, resolving to finck or swim with it. I recommend then, my Lord, such to your Lordships care, and to the gracious marks of the Kings favour. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

45. LORD MELVILL TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

I receaved your's of the 31 past, and did communicat the famyn to his Majesty, as I allwise faithfully did all that you sent to me, but that you have not gott such returns as you desired or expected, severall interveening accidents may occasion the same. But you may assure your selff I was allwayes cairfull both to represent what you desired and exactly to follow his Majesties commands in making returns to you. His Majesty read every word of this last of yours, but was so weary that he gave no orders thereanent, therefor yow gett not a full answere ; but before this come to your hand yow are acquainted with the Councils letter and additionall instructions to yourselff, Sir George Monro, and my son ; I sent also your comission for being Generall Major of all his Majesties forces in Scotland, all which went away on Sabbath morning. There is great difficulty in disbanding either horse or dragoons ; want of money is a great hinderance to his Majesties affairs. By the aditional instructions you have a greater latitude. In confidering the difficulties you tranfmitted here, you give a

conjecturall opinion that there will be but about 4000 effectuall foot, which seems straing, there being 6000 by the establishment of the Convention, besides the old and new garifons and independent companies, which, with the nine regiments, conform to the laft muster-rolls, did extend to 6362 men. You see that his Majefty deſignes to tranſport a conſiderable number of theſe forces, and it will be fitt that whatever attempt be made by the Highlanders upon the low country, there be a force ſufficient for to repreſt them, whereby of neceſſity ſome garrifons muſt be flighted, therefor it was very reasonable that his Majefty ſhould be acquainted what places are neceſſary for garrifons and what not. That diſſiculty which yow propoſe anent the Lowland regiments not being acquainted with the country ſeems ſufficiently anſwered, that if a certain number of the beſt experienced Highlanders ſhall be detatched from their own regiments and incorporat with the South-country regiments, who are or ſhall be poſted next to the rebels, ſeing yow ſeem to be ſo much concerned for thir things that you repreſent, now I wonder there was not ſome touch of them in the diſſicultys tranſmitted here with the flying packet, not doubting of your zeall for the preſent intreſt, and ſincere aſfection to his Majefty ſervice, as his Majefty evidences his entire confidence in yow. By reſuſing to grant to your deſire, I ſhall forbear any further diſſenting upon the strain of your letter wiſhing that there may be no miſtakes betwixt yow and your old friends, and that no iſſinuations of any perſones with yow may have that influence to make yow entertain prejudices againſt thoſe that wiſh you well.

46. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinbrugh the 5th November 1689.

I expeſted long er this that I ſhould have received his Majefties finall orders concerning the forces pay'd in Scotland, for as I have wryten to the full formerly, I cannot make a finall diſpoſition of them in garifons

and quarters till I know which, and what number of them the King will intartaine in his service : I have also delyver'd my oppinion fully as to the consequence of disbanding of forces during a standing rebellion in the kingdom, the unfetled state of the nation (divided generally in two factions, wherof the one doth not favour his Majesties government, and no doubt wold gladly lay hold upon the occasion to trouble it, if by disarming or otherwayes it were presented) and the only party in whom wee can truft, and which, I hop, will not be so mad as to act against his intrest that brought them so faisnable a deliverance, subdevided among themselves, which at leaft hath that bad effect of giving ground of hops to our ennemys, besydes that the present state of affairs in Ireland is not as yet so advantagious for us as wee expected, and our ennemys apprehended, by which, my Lord, you can judge, that my oppinion for not disbanding is not altogether groundlesse, but how to get them pay'd, I leave to others to propofe it to his Majestie ; but so it is that I am told, that there is fcearcey to cleare the precepts of the laft mountn, and though the laft poft fave one, I have wryten to your Lordship fomething concerning thofe branches of the revenues which run in course. I find by nearer information, that as things goe now, at the outmoft extent they fhall not make 40000^{lb} Sterling a-yeare, besyds, that men are very unwilling to ingadge their effects upon fuch a fond, till they fee things in a better fetlement. I fend your Lordship an account of what the payment of thofe forces doth amount to monthly, and fupposing his Majefty in three or four months tyme, either will, with Gods affistance, have his affaires in Ireland better fecured, (which will much fecure this kingdom) or find, by way of a Parlement, means to pay what forces he may have ufe for here. If things might feeme to continu fomwhat longer in a ballance in that kingdom, juge whether for the faving of the mater of 30000^{lb} the leaft hazard for the government ought to be run, which, to redrefle, haply wold coft fix tymes more, besydes the diversion which the continuation of a civill war may occaſion for his Majesties forces, which wold be more uſeſfull elſwhere, and that the money wold be reembourſed againe, when his Majestie ſhould think

fit to let the Parlement fit againe. If such of the English counsell as haply may oppose the advance of money for the security of Scotland, did but consider what great soumes Cromwell did spend to that same effect, judging he could never be secure in his government without securing Scotland to his intreft, certainly they wold not make so light a mater of it, and, I may say, wee have as many opposers, both in their designes and indeavours against their Majesties service and interest as he had, and as dangerous and difficult a conjecture for England (by an untoward humour, dryving many of the inhabitants of those Protestant kingdoms downright against their own happynesse) as it was at that tyme, though the subiect of the quarell now adayes be much more iuste, and of a more indispensابل tye upon all Protestant consciences to support a government by which they have received so signall a delyvrance. By this state of the payment of the Scots stading forces, at their full number as they are now pay'd, a monthly loan of 11085^{lb} Sterling wold doe the busynesse, and if his Majestie think fit to reforme 5 battaillons (which is the half of the foot, for I am not for reducing any of the hors and dragouns as yet) in the other five, to make them better and fuller, it will leſſen the soume to 7105^{lb} Sterling monthly; making in 4 months 28420^{lb}, for the rest of the expences may be had here, and I hop before those months be past, his Majestie will have otherways ether to supply them or dispense safly with their service. I wish only a quick resolution to be taken; the forementioned Cromwell was triple that soume out upon each of four citadelles which he built in Scotland, besydes an armie which he mantained here upon English pay feveral years, before he could draw any considerable soumes of this kingdom; and though his quarell was not good, it is not forbiden to follow his politick exemplis in things wherein he may be lawfully imitated, these arguments tending only to shew how necessary he judged it for the safety of England to have Scotland well secured. I finde Sir George Munro much better dispos'd and more vigourous then when I did see him in the North, and very ready to serve his Majestie and his government to his outmoſt indeavour. He is here and gives your Lordſhip his

humble dutys. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

47. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 9th November 1689.

Since my last to your Lordship, I have wryten in the same terms to the Earle of Portland concerning the forces, and the neccesity both of keeping of them for the moſt parte on foot, and of a loan of money out of England, which no question may be returned when the Parlement can meet again in a good humour, which I hop may be expeſted when they ſhall conſider the prejudice theiſt untymely diſputes (granting they were in the right) is lyke to occaſion to the nation, by leaving the moſt effenciall points for which they have ſo long ſtrugled againſt the former governments, and was th' occaſion of their greateſt complaints and ſufferings unſetled, when it was in their obtion to eſtablish them by law. It were very fit, my Lord, that a ſpeedy reſolution were taken as to the forces, and that if his Majeftie break any of them, the beſt officers among the whole were kept. I think ſtrengē that the English ſcrupule ſo much to have Scots ſent to Ireland, ſeeing they can imploу them as they doe other ſtrangers, and ſend them away when their wortk is don; for certainly it were better management to ſend them thither then to diſband them, for I am perſuaded they will ſerve his Majeftie ſincerely. The Earle of Glenkairns and the Lord Barganys regements are moſt composed of Iriſh; the faid Earle is a very honeſt man and well affected to the preſent government, and he, with his predeceſſours, have ſuffered both upon th' account of loyalty and religion. Ther is no newes of the Dains as yet; I find the money orderd for their tranſport throug this kingdom very krimp, ſo that hors and foot, conſidered one with another, twill feareſcely make eight ſhillings a man: I hop when they ſhall be reimbarcked, or that

wee shall no longer expect them for this winter, that I shall have permifion to goe up to London to wait on his Majeftie and receive his commands for Holland; for I knew his Majefties resolution fo short a tyme before our march laſt yeare, that I had none to leave orders for my little concern there; beſyds, that I ſee no neceſſity for mee here during the winter ſaifon, perticullarly fince his Majeftie is reſolved to put Major Generall Munro in the Government. I can not ſufficiently admire the ſtay of thoſe Dains, the wind having been for fo long a tyme continually good; haply good meaſures have not been taken for their proviſions. I pray your Lordſhip to diſpatch his Majefties pleaſur as to the forces. I am, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

48. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Inverneſſ, the 6 December 1689.

I have receiv'd yours of the 14 fifteen dayes after the date; for it came by Captain Baxter, who was ſoe long by the way; but if it had come ſooner, I could have put a garrifon in Eclafs, but now it is imposſible, (if the intelligence I have be true); for the enemie is drawing togeather in a verry conſiderable body, as you will find by the account I herewith ſend you. Your cannon and ammunition is not yet arriv'd, therefore am thinking vpon this vrgent occaſion to ſend away a boate to gett it brought here, which we ſhall be in great want of, and, if poſſible I can, I will bring the cannon too. I shall give an account of this to Colonell Levingſton, that, in cafe they ſhould come, I might haue his affiſtance.

I am certainely inform'd, that 500 of the rebels were come to Vrquett; they threatned the Caſtle, but I looke vpon it to be in little dainger, they haueing a fortnights or three weekees proviſions.

I ſent the laſt night Captain Grant vp with ten bowles of meale and ammunition, and 13 men and a fargeant of my regiment, and 12 of my

Lord Strathnavers; but the boat springing a leake by forcing her out of the river into the laugh, he tooke but 12 of my men and a sargeant, and sent the rest back againe.

I designe to send for the three companies of Colonell Grants regiment this night or to-morrow, and will likewise send for 120 men out of the two Castles, and think it convenient to strengthen myselfe as well as I can, they hauing a designe against this place, as it is whispered by the best intelligence I have. You know that my Lord Strathnavers regiment and Colonell Grants haue noe cloathes as yett, and are very ill arm'd, doe what service can be expected you best know yourselfe; but they are very good bodyes of men, but haue neither fwords nor bagganetts. Whether the enemies designe be upon this place Ross, or Murray, I cannot tell; for, by the account I give you, they come in two bodyes. It is reported, that they say, if they find us in such a condition as that they cannot attack us, they will burne all the corne and straw, the peates and mills round about us; and if they are of that strength they are reported to be, I am sure I shall not be in a condition to oppose them in the field.

I heare there is a battallion of foot come to Aberdeen, which, if they were here, they might be of great use; but whether it be true I am not certaine. My not heareing from you puts me to a greate deale of trouble, and the forces that are here are doe ill paid, that a great many of them are quartering up and downe the countrey for seaf, which weakens the companies very much, doe that I cannot draw them doe easilie togeather.

I have just now received a letter from Corremenie, your nephewes brother in law, that the Highlanders are come into the countrey of Vr-quett, with 4 or 500 men, under the command of Glengerry and my Lord Fredrick, and this night or to-morrow they expect Laugheale and Cannon with more forces. It is reported, that a great many of the M'Kenzies are like to joyne them, as likewise severall of the Fraziers. What offers, from time to time, shall informe, as becomes, honoured Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES LESLIE.

This is the account of what people, I am inform'd, will joyne them, beside the few Irish they have.

Colonell Cannon,
Loughheale and his men,
Glenco,
Kepoch,
The Badinoch men,
The Strathharrick men,
The Laird of M'Lean.

These are designed to come on the south side of the Ness.

The Laird of Glengerrey of Knoder,
The Captain of Glenrannald,
The Laird of Murrar,
The Laird of M'Donnald of Slait,
The Kintaile men, and other of Seaforts Highlands,
The Corryn hart and Strathglaſſ men,
The Glenmorrifton men,
The Glenealge men, which were prefled out.

These are on the north side of the Ness, and, it is inform'd, they will make about 4000 att least.

Upon this juncture of affaire have thought fitt to signe this letter, which I hope your Excellency will approve of; I haveing noe other designe but the good of theire Majesties service and the prefervation of the countrey.

I have given an order for Colonell Grant to take out his armes and cloathes out of the shipp above eight dayes agoe, doe hope, by this time, they have got them, and then they will be in a better condition to doe service then they are att present.

49. SIR JAMES LESLIE TO MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY.

HONOURED SIR,

Inverness, the 9 December 1689.

I have received the honour of yours of the 5th; and as for the billett you inclosed, which you judged came from the rebels, I believe there is nothing of it; for I must justifie the towne soe farr, that I find them upon all alarums to be verry willing to be in a readenes; and we have never had soe much as one falling out, and there has never been any such thing as ravishing and lyeing with their wives. Colonell Jackson, who is here, will informe, that they are verry loyall, as farr as we can perceive. I have ordered them this day to be att their armes; and although I have had them severall times out before, yet I think it but reasonable that att this time I shoud know what men and armes I have to trust too; I judge they will be between three and four hundred.

I gave you an account that the Castle of Vrquett could containe three companies very well, and for a fress, four; but they being neither armed nor cloathed, could doe little service there, especially upon partys, they haveing only a few carrabines Duke Hamilton sent them; and if the reports be true, I shall have occasion for all the forces here. Nor is the maggaziene able to provide them with provisions; for what is in flore I think it verry reasonable I shoud keep it here, not knowing what occasion I may have for it, especially haveing 60 out of the Castle of Brahan that has neither money nor provisions, soe must supply them here, and becaufe I thought it not necessary to fend them provisions, therefore have sent them 112 marke to buy them some.

I have likewise given Captain Grant, Commander of the Castle of Vrquett, 5^{lb}, and am this day fending him ten bowles of meale more with candle, which money I must lay out of my own pockett, and it costs me two per cent. to gett, besides one per cent. to the officer for bringing it. As for the Castle of Eclas, I told you it was not in my power to doe any

thing in it, the ennemie being drawing togeather in a body ; nor can I conveniently spare ammunition, your cannon and ammunition being not yet come up.

My Lord Lovatt is now in towne, and assures me that none of his men shall joyne the rebels, though I apprehend the contrary. He is goeing to Edinburgh, doe what they doe in it shall inform you, that you may take your measures accordingly.

I have sent you two or three expresses lately, but doe not find by any of yours that you have received any, which makes me wonder extreamly. I gave you notice of Major M'Kayes goeing away, and taking the prisoners along with him.

I have, according to your order this day, sent away the two prisoners.

I have writt to you severall times for an order concerning Pladds, but have never gotten one yett, or else I should have provided that garrison with Pladds ; but all I was able to give them was only 15 paire.

I gave you an account that I had four companies of my Lord Strathnavers regement here, and have been here these two moneths, but have neither clothes and but bad armes, most of them being match-locks. His Lieutenant-Colonell is likewise here.

As for corne and fraw for the troopes, it is noe easie matter to get it brought in here. As Colonell Jackson will informe you that I have not been wanting to use my endeavours, having quartred a party of twenty dragoones for their deſeſt, but all to little purpose, the rebels threatening to burne and deſtroy all that supplyes us. However, have ordred three troopes to come from Elgin, one of them to quarter att Castle Steward, and the other att Bodlum, and the third at Collodon, doe I hope they will not be able to doe us much prejudice. I have likewise ordred three companies of Colonell Grants regiment from Elgin, and have given them orders to take out theire cloathes and armes out of the ſhipp, as I inform'd you in my laſt.

Captain Grant gott verry ſafe to Urquett Castle, and informes me there

is not above 600, though at first he wrott me word there was 800. His letter I herewith send you.

I believe your Excellency has had noe complaint from the towne of me or my regiment, for I endeavour to keep them in as good order as possible. I believe there is a great many, both of the towne and countrey, that gives intelligence to the enmme, but you may be fure they will keep it from me ; but if I can find them out, shall secure them according to your orders. Colonell Jackfon is here.

I have had a great fitt of the collick, but now I thank God it is verry well over ; I advise with him in all things that concerneis theire Majesties service, and have lett him see your letters directed to me. As for the officer of my regiment, I had noe reason to suspe&t him other then that he drank with my Lord Downe and Cannaries when he was here in towne, and that your nephew, Major M'Kay, inform'd me that he had seen a letter directed to my Lord Downe, wherein they desired him to keep him well affected to their party. He promised to shew me the letter, but never did, and I think it verry hard to ruine a man when there is noe manner of proofe against him ; he is still interceading with me for to give him leave to goe for England, soe if you think fitt shall give him leave, his father being dead ; and this he has been doing these three moneths, which is all I know of the busines.

You may be fure I will indeavour to carry myselfe as prudently and discreetly as I can, and shall be fure to obey your orders in what lyes in my power. Since the writeing hereof, I have received intelligence from Sir Alexander M'Kenzie of Coull, that my Lord Seaforts uncle is gathering all the strength he can, and is resolvled to joyne the rebels. It is reported by him and feveral others, that they desgin to come against this place, and that they are like to come verry well provided. I have like-wise notice from the Sherrieff Deput, that the M'Kenzies will certainly joyne them with three or four hundred, but others makes them much stronger. He gives me notice that Corremonie is with the enemie and feveral others, soe that they play fast and loose as they think fitt. I shall

endeavour to put myfelfe in the beft pofture I can, haueing given notice to all the countreys round about, as Roſs, Elgin and Murrey, to be in a reddeneſſ, and put themſelves in the beft pofture they can for theiſe owne deſence, having affuſed them of what affiſtance I can afford. Pray lett me heare from yon, and know whether this comes to your hands, and you will oblige, honoured Sir, your moſt obedient humble fervant,

JAMES LESLIE.

50. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinburgh, the 12th December 1689.

I ſend your Lordſhip the laſt account I had from Inderneſſe, where I have three regements of foot, four troops of hors, and three troops of dragoons, and haue given order to four troops of Levingtſons regement, with another troop of hors which lyes in quarters with him in Aberdeenshire, to march thither if the rebels fall down in any formidaſle numbers. There is no hazard for the town of Inderneſſe, but I wold have the countrey protected as muſh as poſſible. With all I haue ſignified to Sir James Leſlie (with whom I haue joyn'd Lieutenant Collonel Jackson, ordering him to conſult all occurences with him) to call out all the fenceble men of the countrey, if they will haue their houſes and goods proteceted, which, if they did as unanimouſly as the rebels joyn againſt us, they needed not care muſh for their incuſions; but ſo it is, that, generally, ſuſh as ſeem to be for their Majefties government doe more temperife, and are more reſerved then its ennemys are, which argues a fervil ſpirit in them as well as great folly; however, it lets us ſee that the King cannot well retrench the forces here till the countrey be ſettled; which, if the rebels get no affiſtance from other parts, may be effectuated with Gods affiſtance tymely the niſt ſummer, if his Majeftie will ſend down three fregats, by whose help haply the ifles (which make their moſt conſiderable force) might be

reduced before the tyme of marching to Lochaber to plant a garrison. I sent a memorandum to the Earle of Portland of things necessary for that expedition, which, if not tymely consider'd, we shall be reduced to the same unprovided condition as before, and all the blame (by men that doe not understand the trade at leaft) will lye at the Commanders door, for they consider nothing but marching to the ennemy with our finger in our cheek, as som have had the confidence, or rather the ignorance, to say, I should have marched to Lochaber after the reduction of Athol, when not only the continual rains to which the troupes were there expos'd for 10 or 12 dayes, without tents or any other cover, rendering the leaft brooks impaſſable, and which laſted continually in this countrey for two full mounths therafter, but could not get them at that place founished with provisions though neare. How ſhould wee then be able to ſublift ſo far of, by which your Lordſhip may eaſily judge (all circumſtances conſidered) that nothing but the regarde of their Majefties ſervice, and the caufe which hath ſo neare a relation to the maintenance of their government, could render this countreys ſervice ſupportable to a man, which I may without vanity affirme, is in a great meſure diſintreſted, in comparifon of men who haply will be ready to blame mee if things ſucceſſ not to their fancy; therefore, my Lord, ſince all the perticular iſtreſt I have in it, is to conſerve my little reputation, I pray it be not expos'd when the los of it can be no ſervice to the King but to the contrary, ſo long as he intruſteth me with this ſervice.

I have ordered the Earle of Argyll (with two regements and what men he can make of his dependencie there) to Argyllshire, who, if he wold apply himſelf more, might make much a better figure then he hath don hetherto (for he hath a conſiderable command of men) and render Braid Albin (who is one of the cunningeſt temperifers in Britain) iſignificant, if he did but uſe the fame authoritie over his name as his predeceſſors have don. This is all at preſent from, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

The designe of sending thos forces to the shire of Argyll is to make a diversion, and haply if wee had ships to forme a dessein up the ille of Mull at first, and according to the succes upon the rest, which cannot be undertaken but with great uncertaintie and hazard of the interpryfes, without the help of ships, of which thos Islanders are much affrayd. Want of pay for the forces of this kingdom will occasion great diforders I am affrayd.

51. THE KING TO THE EARL OF LEVEN, MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY
AND SIR GEORGE MONRO.

WILLIAM R.

Right trufy and welbeloved Coufin and Councillor, right trufy and welbeloved Councillor, and trufy and welbeloved, Wee greet you well. Whereas Wee are resolued to have our forces of that our ancient kingdome new modelled, and that the regements of foot may confift of thirteen companies each, and fifty sentinells in each company, and of each regiment one company to be Granadiers, and each troop of horse and dragoones to confift of fifty men: Therefore Wee authorife and impower you to make up seven regiments of foot, three troops of horse, and three troops of dragoones out of the prefent standing forces, to be commanded by the persons contained in the Inſtructiones under our royall hand herewith fent; And Wee further impower you to choose and nominate ſuch Lieutenant Colonells, Majors and other inferiour officers for the Foot, and Lieutenants and other inferiour officers for the Horse and Dragoones as you ſhall judge moft proper, out of the whole ſtanding army; or ſuch other perfones as you ſhall find well qualified for the ſtationes in which you are to place them, and to tranmitt a lift of the fame to our Secretary, that their names may be filled up in commiſſions accordingly; And Wee re-commend to you to proceed in this with ſuch due care and ſecrecy as the matter doth require, and as you tender the good of our ſervice. For doing whereof this ſhall be your warrant; and fo Wee bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at Holland House, the 18th day of December 1689,
and of our Reigne the first year. By His Majesties Command,

MELVILL.

*To our right trusty and welbeloved cousin and coun-
cellor, our right trusty and welbeloved coun-
cellor, and our trusty and welbeloved, David
Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major Ge-
nerall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.*

52. INSTRUCTIONS to our right trusty and welbeloved cousin and counsellor, our right trusty and welbeloved counsellor, and our trusty and welbeloved, David Earle of Leven, Hugh Mackay, Major-Generall of our Forces, and Sir George Monro.

WILLIAM R.

1. You are to review and modell the six regiments commanded by the Earle of Angus, the Earle of Argile, the Earle of Glencairn, the Lord Viscount of Kenmore, the Lord Strathnaver, and the Laird of Grant, and you are to forme a regiment to be commanded by Cunningham. Of the faid seven regiments three are to remain in that our ancient kingdome, and the other four to be employed for our service in Ireland.

2. You are to appoint the above seven regiments to consist of thirteen companies each, and sixty men in each company, and one company of each regiment to be granadiers.

3. For making up the faid regiments, you are to disband the three regiments of the Earle of Mar, Lord Blantire, and the Lord Bargeny.

4. You are to disband all independent companies, and what officers of them as are fit for our service, you are to employ in stationes proper for them as our service requires.

5. You are to appoint fit persons to be Lieutenant Colonells, Majors, and other inferiour officers to the foresaid seven regiments.

15. You are to compleat such regiments first as you think most proper for our service.

16. You are to transmitt a list of such officers as you nominate to George Lord Melvill our secretary, that they may have their commissions accordingly. Given under our Royall hand and signet, at our Court at Holland House, the 18th day of December 1689, and of our reigne the first year.

W. R.

53. DIFFICULTIES to be humbly repreſented to the King, touching his late Inſtructions for modelling the Forces till they be payed of ther arrears.

That if any regements or troupes be broke befor they are payed of ther arrears, it is to be feared that they shall mutinie, which in the present unſetled ſtate of the kingdome might prove of a bade conſequene, and would undoubtely fortifie the Rebellione.

That the regements which are deſigned to ſtand, whither for the ſervice of this kingdome, or to be ſent heirefter to Ireland moft have preſent ſubſiſtance, befor it be proceſſed to modell them, otherwayes that it cannot be expeſted that they can be kept togither, or got recrutied or bettered, because they shall diſband and not ſubjeſt themſelves to discipline.

This is granted
for 4 regiments.

That if any waies
be fallen upon for
ſubſiſtance to
moe troupes, they
be kept up.

That if the horſe and dragouns be diſbanded, the King will undoubtely loſe the horſe and furniture, beſydes that the men which have nou bein on foott and accuſtomed to ryde, shall be much more ſerviceable for the nixt campane, then ſuch as shall be neuly levied, and therfor ought to be kept at 12^d a day for a horſe, and 9 pence a dragoune, for ſubſiſtance, (the officers ſerving till the parliament meet without pay) rather than to be at the loſs of them to the King, for the ſpairing of ſo small a foume of money.

That the 4 regements which his Maſteſt deſignes for Ireland, ought, ſo long as they are in Scotland to be payed upon the fame foott with the three that are to ſtay here; and therfor if his Maſteſt ſend doune money

for ther subfiftance, upon the foott of other English troupes, the over plus This granted. may helpe for the subfiftance of the other 3 regements for the fai'd tyme of ther stay in this kingdome.

That the fai'd subfiftance would be ordered doun without delay, and in the mean while Mr. Feelding, controllor generall of the provifions for This granted. Ireland ordered to advance what money he heath by him till bills be fent doun to fupply him or money fent to Newcastle, or along with the Dainish horfe, when they come to Scotland.

That his Majeftie be humbly prayed to explicate his royll pleafour touching the caſtle of Stirling, because the Earle of Marr, being heritable This granted. governour, is alwayes Captaine of the company in garifone ther, and therfor judged that it ought to continou independent. As also concerning the This may be done castle of Dumbarton, the Baffe and Blacknes being but finall garifons, in- by keeping a company fewer. convenient to be furnished out of regements, none of them being capable to receave a company, Dumbarton being of 40 men, and the reſt not above 20 each.

That fo neare as may be gueſſed by the preſent diſorderly ſtate of the forces payed in this kingdome, the 10 battallions of foott, will not make Regiments, that for Ireland muſt above 4000 eſſective men, fo that to make up 7 regiments each at 780, first be made vpe. will take ods of 1500 new reeruits to compleit them, which is feared will be ill to be gott, ther being no levie money, and the people haveing gotten ill impreſſion of the ſervice, because of ther late ill payement.

It is humbly repreſented, that notwithstanding his Majefties Inſtructions to us have bein poſitive, the forſaid inconveniences occurring to our judgements in caſe of our preſent proceeding thereto, we have judged it for the ſafetie of his ſervice rather to delay it for the ſpace of eight dayes; in which tyme his Majeftie having conſidered further of them may ſignifie his finall pleafour, in hopes this eſſect of our tendernes of the intereſt of his ſervice, shall not be miſconſtructed.

LEVEN.

H. MACKAY.

SG. MONRO.

54. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 21 December 1689.

Your Lordships of the 12th I had two pofts agoe, but have received nothing as yet from my Lord Portland or by Colonel Cunningham. It hath been my oppinion, that, in the beginning of such a signal change, considering that all such as did goe allong with it could not be supposed to have been acted by truly christian and self-denied principles, but that many of them had two great a regarde to the perticullar advantages which they proposed to themselves thereby. I say my Lord, it was my oppinion, that the people should have been in som mesure humoured, though thereby som persons in esteem by his Majestie might for a tyme be depryved of the outward marks of his royll favour, for the words of Solomons counsellers are not in vaine recorded, who said to his son, if thou be a fervant to this people for this one day, then will they be thy servants for ever; if my indeavours or dire^ction, or person or intrest, can contribut any thing to his Majesties service and the promotion of this caufe, your Lordship needs no wayes to question it, hoping that God (who hath been the author of so signall a delivrance, at the point of tyme when the ruine of the Protestant intrest was project^eted and far advanced in the counsells of men) will return (after he hath let vs see how litle wee have to trust to our own prudence or force) to be (in all such as he in his providence hath call'd, or shall call, to have any dire^ction in the advancement of this caufe) for a spirit of judgement to them that fit in judgement, and for strength to them that turn the battle to the gate.

I confesse, that when I consider that Proverb, whereof our Saviour made vse against the fals calumnies of the Jews as to his miracles, that a kingdom devided against itself cannot stand, I think I might have som grounds of apprehension of the fall of Scotland in som notable desaster; for ther is nothing but devisions and factions in Parlement, in Counsel,

in the Church, and in the Countrey ; but when I make reflexion that it is the undoubted truth of God for which wee stand up, and which I question not but our King and som of those whom he doth employ, (whether in the cabin or in the feeld,) doe sincerely mynd, and prefer incomparably above all temporall considerations, (which in comparisfon are but a vanity;) I cannot but have som lyly hop, that he will not leave unperfected a delyvrance which his providence hath thus far advanced, and for the accomplishment whereof, ther are, without doubt, many faithfull prayers dayly put up to heaven in all Protestant Churches of the world ; considering withall, that it is not for our sins and crimes against God (though numberous and confisious to every one of us) that wee are hated of our ennemys, but for our adherance to his saving truth. I hop he shall doe it for his own great names sake which is invoked upon (and by) us, and for his truth, which, by their advantages over us, wold be spocken against and blasphamed by the ennemys thereof ; therefor, though I am of oppinion that the means to prevent trouble and unsaifonable devisions ought to be diligently and carefully used, I labour to support all wayes my hop by the contemplation of Gods all mighty power, and over all present providence and direction, overruling all the actions of his creatures good and bad, so that all things must tend to the end which he hath propos'd to himself concerning them, in his eternall, unchangeable, righteous and holy counsell ; and as he wanteth not innumerable means unconceivable to us to redrefse that which wee in our finit judgement think is redressable, so is he bound to no means ; therefor, my Lord, let every faithfull servant of God, called to any publick administration, make use of such reflexions for his support in difficulties, but not for an occasion of tempting providence by negle&ting the means ; for I must take the liberty to say, that the intref of the service, and the means of restoring the peace in Scotland, hath been too long neglected, and that for my own parte I had lost my patience so far, that I often wished I had never beene employ'd in it, but I consider that the heart of the King (who hath made choice of mee for service) is in the hand of the Lord, from whose providence I also wait

for a favorable succes there to, notwithstanding of all those difficultys and clouds overshadowing this comfortable blinck of the delivrance of the Protestant Churches of Europ, which he can quickly dissipat after he hath tryed our faith, and retired our confidence from the arm of flesh to fix it in him. The tenour of your Lordships leter (which seemed as well to regrate as to apprehend the prefent state of affaires dangerous at that raite, that the Protestant intrest may be judged to lye again at stake) hath given occasion to this discours, and assure yourself, my Lord, that if the prospect of all the advantages which the world can propose should cum in the ballance, it wold weigh in my estimation no more then the wind in comparison of the Protestant intrest, for which, with Gods strength, I shall chearfully sacrifice all that can be deare to me on earth, which is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble servant,

H. MACKAY.

55. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbruch, the 31 December 1689.

I finde by his Majesties late order for modelling and reduceing the Scots forces, that little regarde is had to what I have reiteratively wryt upon that subiect, which I cannot queftion, but hath been lay'd open before his Majestie; therefor I must conclude, that ther is more credit given to fom other mens relation of maters belonging to my profefſion, and deppending of the charaētere which I beare here, of Commanding in Chief their Majesties forces then to myn, for which I wold not be in the leaſt offendēd, if I did not ſee that thoſe informaſons doe not only levell at mee as incapable to judge of the moſt convenient places for garifons, or what forte of forces are moſt fit to be lodged in the diſſerent places of the kingdom, but alſo are againſt the ſervice; for whoeuer hath informed, that well affected Highlanders being formed in regular bodys, are not the fitteſt for the Highlands, and to be employ'd in the houſes niſt aſacent to the Highland

Rebells, have informed very ill ; for wee know the contrary by experience of late, that when wee place south countreymen and strengers in thosse Highland countreys among the hills, they dare not flur a foot from their garison, by raison they cannot trust to the guidance of the countreymen who are about all our garisons, and ennemis in their heart to our Kings service, and this intrest in generall. About Inderneffe wee have the MacKenzies and the Fraisers, of the behaviour wherof I have sent your Lordship lately a leter, and doe fend you hereby one received to day. If they have given over their deßigne, tis by raison of a suply of hors and dragouns lately sent thither, which body (I mean of hors and dragouns) if the King will break, (as I hop he shall not,) I am apprehensive he shall not be long master of the north, and will cost him more then the keeping of them for a feu months more can stand him to recover it. The Laird of Grants regement in the north about Inderneffe have made lately out of houſes where they are partly poſted fom ſuccesfull interpryfes upon their neighbouring rebels, becauſe they know the convenience of the ground, which our other forces placed in Blair of Athol, Finlanrig, Braymar and other places, are not capable to doe, becauſe they are strengers in the countrey, and cannot truſt to the inhabitants ; ſo that, my Lord, whoeuer medles to give the King adyece for changing the regements from one place to another of the kingdom, without conſulting him who commands his forces here, doe take a little too much upon them, and happily by the conſequence more then they could well juſtifie ; being, in my oppinion, one of the things moſt regarding the Commanders judgement, being in the countrey, and ſuppoſed to have had the neceſſary inforſations, wherupon to ground his meſures in the diſpoſition of the forces. My Lord, as to houſes which are not neceſſary to be garifoned, I know none, except the want of forces to ſupply them render them neceſſary to be abandon'd ; for the houſes of Brahan and Crafle Leud, belonging to the Lords Seaforth and Tarbot, when they were garifoned, it was judged very neceſſary, as it is yet, for all that fome men may ſay to the contrary, not ſo much to offend the ennemy, as to cover the well affeſted in Rosselſhire from the

depradations, not only of the open Rebells, but also from the ill affected Mackenzies and Fraifers, who rob them under the coulour of the said Rebells. You find, by the inclosed, as well as the other I sent a while agoe, that they were for certain in arms ; for Sir James Leslie (no more then I) hath no other quarelle agaist them but upon the publick account. My Lord, I have many raisons to be weary of this command, and to wish, with all my heart, som other might be pitched upon to supply it ; for such as are fed with the fancy of great ambition and expectations, and haply have not experienced so many different faces of that which men call fortune as I have, and are yonger to recover a lost reputation, may undergoe such difficultys more cheerfully, without examining them so narrowly ; but, my Lord, I am not lodged there, and, therefore, when I have not wherewithall, I can advance and humanly secure the intreft of the service, I had rather quit all expectations, though they were more apparently advantagious, then ever I did forme them in my own mynd, then appeare upon the stge to my confusio[n]. It was my lot allwayes to serve his Majestie with more difficultys then any other of my charge, at which I wold never repyne, God knowes, in this quarell, if my concern were alone interested thereby ; for I wih this intreft did goe well, and were ons well fecured, though I were to morow reduced to a piece of bread ; and I wish also, with all my heart, that all who pretend zeale for it were of the fame mynd, for then wee should not see the King so ambarraffed in his affaires at this tyme, as I have apprehended of a long tyme he should be, and now find it to my regrate. My Lord, I could say much more upon the subje^t, but tis late ; and the post waiting, so that I can ad no more, then that I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

56. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

December 1689.

If I did not judge it absolutly my duty (however it may happen to be taken) so long as I am here, to represent persons and maters, as I can judge most advantagious for their Majesties service, and the restablisshment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, I had long since given over to wryt, because I seldom or never get the satisfaction to know whether any thing I propose be had in any regarde or the contrarie. I remember to have wryten severall tymes of the Scots hors, that they wold never be fit for service if they were not regemented; I heare now from other hands that they are to be so, but I doe not know if any regarde be taken of the Master of Forbes, who, I am sure, hath don more for their Majesties service this yeare, then many that make greater pretensions, and though he be such a person, as I am perswaded doth not serve this cause upon principles of self intreft, when ther are nevertheleffe som charges to be distributed, which might help to accommodat a family, which (though of a considerable following) is not of the richeft, and so intirely ingadged in their Majesties intreft, I am of oppinion that it wold be of good exemple such were not negle^cted, for I can beare him witnesse (who have had occasion to remarke mens temper in this kingdom) that from one end of Scotland to the other, none hath been more through sticke and cordiall in this cause, nor made better figure (keeping all the countrey about him, which abounded with ill affected people for this government, in aw) then hee, and hath been of very good use to mee when I had but feu or no forces to oppose a great multitude of rebels. I understand from the Earle Leven that your Lordship hath spock for Edinglassie; one thing I wold have your Lordship to advert unto, that if the representatons of such as shall command at any tyme their Majesties forces in this kingdom be alltogether negle^cted, perticullarly in tyme of war and civill troubles, his credit is presently out, and can a^ct no further then juste command what regular forces

he hath, which, in the beginning of this last summer, had not don the busilineffe, if my credit with som familys had not got them to joyn with mee ; and though I am hopfull that whofoever shall command hereafter, shall not have so much need of such shiffts, nevertheless, fince the affaires of the world are so evidently subiect to strenge revolutions, there is no doubt but such as doe well ought to be encouraged, to be a good exemple to others. I know your Lordship hath much to doe, and if I knew to whom to addresse so fitly what touches the service here as to your Lordship, I wold not a given you so much trouble, but I forgot to defyre the Kings explication upon that point ; and now since I am in expectation that his Majestie will give me som months of this saifon, wherin I can doe but litle service here, to look after my family, and labour to leave it in som better order then I left it last, upon such a short warning as I had from his Majestie, I doe not think it worth the pains to change methods, or look after another corepondent at Court. Ther is one Van Hill, Captaine in the Earle of Levens regement, a very good officer, who hath servd long among hors. If the troops be designed for regements, he wold be a very fit Major for one of them, for certainly theyl need in each regement at leaft a Major that served abroad and among hors ; this is of the nature of all my other recommendations, that is, men in whom I have no intrest but that of the service ; for fince I came to Scotland I doe not remember that I recommended a relation of myn but Major Mackay, who was put by, though he had the grant of it before from the King ; but any wrong which may happen to be don to mee or my relations, over whom I shall have any power, shall never lessen the number of their Majesties faithfull servants ; for I doe thank God for it, that neither the paſſion of ambition, or defyre to be accommodated with abundance of temporall convenience, doth ever disquiet my mynd. I expe&t dayly orders concerning the Dains, for if they be ſhiped out of England to Ireland, the ſhips muſt goe thither. I gave preſent account of what I knew to Maſter Blaithwait. I am, my Lord, your Lordships moſt humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

57. ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS to our right trufy, and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, and our righty trufy and welbeloved Councillors, David Earle of Leven, Hugh M'Kay, Major-Generall of our forces, and Sir George Munroe of Culrain.

WILLIAM R.

Notwithstanding of our former Instructions from what you represent, Wee find ground to make the following alterations.

1. You are to consider for how many you can find subsittance by me-thods within your owne power, and if that fall short of the number pro-posed by us formerly, you are to advise with our Councell (before you proceed to modell and disband) to know what they can propose for sub-sittance to the number mentioned by us, or more if they think fitt, and can find subsittance for them ; and after you have found what the fonds will sustaint, you are then to proceed to modell them accordingly, and to disband the rest for making up of the regiments and troops that are to stand for your better performance, whereof Wee have ordered our Privy Councell to give you their concurrence.
2. If the fonds of subsittance money shall not amount to so much as will maintain the numbers formerly proposed by us to you, you are to appoint the regiments to consist of fewer companys than what We mentioned in our former Instructions.
3. And to the effect that the troops which are to stand be compleated, you are to devide the troops commanded by the Earle of Annandale, and Lord Rofs (if the rest are to be kept up) amongst the standing troops for compleating them ; if otherwise to disband them.
4. You are to appoint the company in the Castle of Stirling, now com-manded by the Earle of Marr, to continue an independent company, and not to be regimented, and to consist of centinells ; and likewise what

numbers you shall appoint for the garrisons of Dumbarton, Blacknefs and the Basfs, to be independent, and Araskin of Alvas company, now in the Castle of Stirling, you are to appoint to be one of the regimented companyes.

5. You are not to levy any more foot for making up the seven regiments untill some new fond be condescended upon for their subsistence.

6. If the ten battalions be so far short of their numbers as you conjecture, you are to enquire who have been guilty of false musters.

In all other matters, Wee referr you to our former instructions, excepting in so far as they are hereby innovated.

Given under our Royall Hand, and Signett at our Court at Kensingtoun, the 4th day of January 16⁸⁹₉₀ and of our reigne the first year. By His Majestys command,

MELVILL.

58. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 13th Januar 90.

Finding the bearer hereof, Captain Hill, of the Earle of Levens regiment, an officer which can be very usefull to me for the ensuing campaigne, (being a person understanding prett well both foot and hors, perticularly the later, and to the boot, a sober, diligent and carefull man) I pray your Lordship to recommend him to the King from me, for the charge of Ajutant Generall of his forces in Scotland, having hitherto had great want of a capable person for that charge, both as to the regular distribution of orders, mustering of the forces, and bringing of our small cavallerie upon som foot of service. I beg then that his Majestie for the intrest of his service, (which necessarily, in spyt of mee, will be negleected if I have not the ordinary helps) may be pleased to grant Captain Hill a commision for the said charge; and further, to allow me two Aides de Camp for the ensuing campaigne, for in those perticulars I ought not to

be consider'd as a Major-Generall under superiour Commanders, but as Commander in Chief of so many forces, and in an occasion much doth deppend upon the having a set of good men for the speedy and regullar distribution of the orders, and is greatly the raison that I cannot be so sure of the state of the forces when pepperat as otherwyse, being oblidged to make use of the officers of one regement to muster another for want of such officers, upon whose report I could make more state. If his Majestie be pleased to grant the forsaid commission to Captain Hill, he may be imploy'd to see dispach'd such supply of arms, ammunition and other necessaries, as he shall resolve to let me have for the carying on, and with divine assistance, ending of this war, according to a memoriall which I shall send up to that effect. I pray your Lordship to forward this folicitation, as also the dispach of the necessary supplies wherof wee cannot be furnished here; for though no man breathing shall, with Gods assistance, more cheerfully encounter all sortes of difficultys for this cause and their Majesties service then I shall doe, yet where they can be remedied, I ought not to be overcharged. I shall give his Majestie by the post account of the perticullars; my earnest desyre is, that we might make a considerable progres in the reduction of the rebellion in this kingdom before the oppening of the campaigne in Ireland; and in order to our airy camping (notwithstanding wee are cloathing for the third tyme since our cumming to Scotland) I have given order for making furtouts for all the regements pay'd out of England, as also tents, in case the ingredients can be had here. If it please God they doe well, his Majestie can allwayes consider their losses and expences, but till then I shall not solicit for them were they at never so much. This is all at present from, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servyant,

H. MACKAY.

59. INSTRUCTIONS to Our trufy and welbeloved Councillor, General Major Mackay, Commander in Chief of our forces in Scotland. Feb. 1690.

WILLIAM R.

Yow are to take and apprehend the person or persons of them who shall be given yow up in a list subscrived be our right trufy and welbeloved Cousin and Councillor, George Lord Melvill, and any three of our secret councell, as practifers against the government, and carry them securely prisoners into the Castle of Edinburgh.

Upon what information yow have of any private persons under your command or otherway's, that are delated as practifers against the government, yow are immediately to secure them, and to keep them cloſt prisoners till they be delivered to the Councell, or any having their order to receive them; and this shall be your warrant. Given under Our Royall hand and Seal, at Our Court at Kensington, the day of February 16⁹⁰, and of our Reigne the first year.

W. R.

60. INSTRUCTIONS from Major-General Mackay, for Major Ferguson appointed to command in chief the detachement of 600 men, which are to be shipt at Greennock and to go about to the Isles and waſt of Lochaber, and for Captain Pottinger, commanding their Majesties ſhip the Dartmouth, with the reſt of the ſquadre under his command.

1. The faid Major and Captain ſhall doe all things communicatively, and diſte their reſolutions betwixt themſelves before they communicat them to others.
2. They are expreſſly charged, that no diſiſons be among them upon

the mater of their undertakings, which may prove prejudiciale to the service, but that they resolve and do every thing unanimously and with one accord, the Captain submitting to the judgement of the Major as to landings and undertakings against the ennemy by land, if occasion should offer visibly favourable thereto, and the Major submitting to the Captains judgement as to sea affaires.

3. The main deffeyn of this detachment being to make a diversion, allarme the rebels coasts, cut their communication with the Islanders now in rebellion against their Majesties authoritie, and to take away or burn all their boats and birlins whether in the Isles or allong the coasts of the rebels upon the firme land ; the Major is to undertake nothing as to landing but upon visible and apparent advantages and humane assurance of succels.

4. If the Major should see palpably, that with a renforce of three or four hunder men more he might master the Island of Mul, he shall presently give notice thereof to the Laird of Arckinlas, Shirif-deput of Argylls shire, who is to have order from the Earle to assist him with that number of the most resolut and best armed men of the shire, and such as will willingly and cheerfully be employed in that service and against that ennemy, and that with all possible diligence that the occasion may not be lost by delays.

5. That their first interprise be against all the ennemis boats, to the end they be render'd incapable to succour with men or provisions one another, and so be reduced to extreamities, and haply to submit.

6. That upon giving up all their arms, as well swwords as guns, delyvering over all places of strength, and swearing allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, the Major forfeit is hereby authorisfed to give protection to the inhabitants of the Isles, but not to their chiefs but by casting themselves in the King's mercy and delyvering their persons prisoners to the said Major, who in that case is required to treat them civilly.

7. Hee shall take nothing from such perfons and countreys as shall sub-

mit upon the forsaid conditions, but a necessary supply of provisoes to his men and ships, and that moderately ; and upon the contrarie shall use with all the rigour of military executions, such as shall continu obstinat in their rebellion, with this proviso, that women and children be not touched or wronged in their persons.

8. The said Major commanding in chief shall have speciaall care his men be kept under exact discipline both as fouldiers and christians, to hinder cursing and swearing, and all other unchristian and disorderly custums, and to chastife in their purs or persons, such as perfist in them after intimation.

Being upon the coast he shall wryt to the Laird of Macleod, signifieing that he hath order to succour and protec^t his countrey in case he be molested by those of his neighbours in rebellion, and that the government and I are well satisfied with his behaviour hitherto, knowing that so long as our affistance was so far distant wee could not expec^t his oppen declaring for their Majesties government ; but now as it is our resolution not to abandon him, so it is our expec^tation that he shall declare himself freely for us and against our ennemis, and so joyn forces.

61. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

MY LORD,

Edinbrugh, the 6th Februar 1690.

I had your leter of the j February. I question not but you have your hands very full of affaires, and I am persuaded that his Majestic is so extremely thronged with affaires, of all sorts, that its no mater of admiration that he can not so quickly dispach orders as those who are intrusted with any dire^ction in the carrying on of his service wold gladly have them, seeing what prejudices delays may occasion thereto ; and truly my Lord, as no man (be it said without vanity,) serves this intrest with lesse regarde to his own then I doe, so none is more grieved when I see any wrong steps made therein. The raison is palpable, for having no other obj^ct to

divert my thoughts I have them allwayes fixed there, nevertheleffe to litle purpos if I have no beter concurrence then hitherto. I have laid before the King, fully my judgement as to what ought to be undertaken airly this spring, and if the litle affittance which I defyred were tymely sent, with the three small fregates which his Majestie promisid, and order to the Pryvy Counsell for what further concurrence the state of affaires here at present may be capable of, I question not but with Gods affittance, to be able to give a good account of the Highland rebellion before the end of Appril, the weather proving any thing favourable. I expe&t therefor my Lord, that I may be advertised tymely what supply I can expe&t from London of the things I wrot for, to the end if it were possible the deffects might be supply'd here, which never the leffe I can make but litle flate upon, all things consider'd; befyds my zeale for their Majesties service, and the intrest of our holy religion; my longing to be out of this countrey, (where I can never expe&t to be gratfull to men, because I neather doe nor never shall espouse any fa&tion which I dispaire to see extinguished therin,) shall be a sufficent argument to mee, to promote (so far as in me lyes) what may contribut to the peaceable establisment of their Majesties happy authoritie in this kingdom.

I know I have my ennemis, but they may well perhaps (as understanding the trade better then I,) censure my conduct, but I wold never the leffe advyse them to consider that the King is a Prince that will hear mens raifons, and that I want not myn, of which those that wold condemn mee without hearing, haply doe not know the weight, but I deffie the malice of all the earth to finde a designed wrong step (as to what his Majestie hath intrusted me with) in my conduct.

I have fent my Lord your son to muster the forces besouth Aberdeen, who hath brought me an exact account of their state. My Lord, I doe not use to flater any, and therefor take it for none that I tell you, I am very well satisfied with his conduct as to any thing I employ him in the advancement of his Majesties service; the truth is, though our forces are none of the best, my greatest want is of officers capable to command a seperat body,

though I beleieve such of them as have served be good resolut men; but the chief direction is not every officers talent, though in this so large and sepearat winter quarter, I could give but very imperfect directions from so far, so that necessaryly it must needs have rested mostly upon the perticullar commanders discretion, excepting som generall instructions from tyme to tyme according to the notion I had of the ennemy and the countrey.

I wish the King wold declare the Scots regements which he designs for Ireland, that they may be brought south if any of them be in the north; I have never doubted but your Lordship did communicat my leters to the King, for they allwayes touch leffe or more his service, wheroft he ought to be all wayes the judge. I am, my Lord, your Lordships most humble and obedient servyant,

H. MACKAY.

62. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Bruntilland, the 18th June 1690.*

One King who is nephew to Lieutenant Colonel Buchan, and served in my regement in Holland, being made prisoner in the north and caried to Edinburgh, is now fallen very sick of a violent fievre, which I knew not till I was at Lith, otherwyse I had spock to your Grace, as I now intreat by these to let him out upon baile of reentering prisoner when he shall be recovered again ; the phisitians declaring he cannot readily escape if he be left there, or otherwyse to be kept by fentnells.

I beg your Grace not to be too much allarmed at the behaviour of those yong sparcks, but that methods be thought on, and speedyly put in execution to prevent their affemblings, and men of Pollwarts and other honest southerne perfons choosing, be joyned to the officers which shall be detached to the borders, so well to give tymely advertisement of their gatherings, that they may be fallen upon before they have tyme to strengthen themselves, as to discover all ill affected perfons horses, that they may be feased according to the act of Parlement ; begging earnestly that without the last

necessitie I be not interrupted in my designe, which with the assistance of God, I shall labour to accomplish speedyly, and without a powerfull invasion will prove an effectuall means to quiet this kingdom and mortifie the hops of the ill affected. I resolve to make feu halts till I be in the rebels countrey, hoping that som of my victuallers will be about by that tyme. I am, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

63. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Strathardil, the 23d June, at 12 of the clock at night.

May it please your Grace,

I must regrate that it is my lot to serve among a people that seems to conspire the ruin of the service in my hands. It is certain that without ingeneurs and wrights I fee not how I can accomplish well or to purpos my proposed design, but so it is that I must march without either if I should not resolve to make new provisions and so give it over for this yeare. It seems the Devell who is certainly an ennemy to all good purposes, (of which whatsoever doth contribute to the advancement of this intrest, upon which I thank God however the issue may prove, my thoughts do only run in Scotland, doth make a parte,) sturreth up all sorts of people to oppose my indeavours, for I thought I was fure of nothing more then the ingeneur and wrights and yet they faile me, but whatever may be their excuse (if any justice might have place) their lyves wold be too small a price of the disappointment; for if it was for som little money, it might have been had by the armie, though things leffe ing none more were postponed confidence which made me to in this kingdom against such a spet of difficulties occasioned no doubt by my enemies, that is the providence of God, which findeth counsell when we know of none. I march to morow to Braymar, and the day following to Strathspey, where I expect to joyn Livingstone. I chose such

a marche to hazard nothing, because the other way I should march within a litle dayes march to the enemy, which might with all securitie attempt som thing in difficult passages, being much perzuaded they will neither have the tyme nor the resolution to cum out of their countrey so far as to fall in betwixt us by this march which I have followed; the nixt remedie for the wrights will be to make all hafte day and night by land through the shire of Argyll, for which I send them an order. I had great difficultie to passe the river Tay four miles above Dunkell, it being on a sudden so risen, that severalls of our hors and men were dryven down the river, but I thank God none drowned either hors or men. I stay'd Sonday for the party which I left for the ministres and the wrights, and sent the officer order to cum to Strath Ardin, seeing I was disappointed of the first rendevous; but now I must give them the third at Strathspey by the way of Aberdeen, with the ministres allone, if they cum to Pearth before to morow morning, the party having order to parte affoon as it cum to their hand; but it seems wee are negleected in foul and body by this government. It is a sad thing that for 2 or 300 pounds, the King's service should be so much negleected, but further of this mater, and shall, afflstance go on, hoping against hop, and begging your Grace may not offer to disturb me without great necessitie, since the effectuatin of this designe will make other enemies the leffe formidable for us. I pray your Grace to cause dispatch the ships with the materialls, which is at present all from, May it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

64. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

From the Camp at Collnakeille, the 28th June 1690.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

Having of a long tyme judged that the only way to reduce the present flanding rebellion, was to establish a garison at Inderlochy, all the go-

vernment knowes with what earnestnesse and obstacles I laboured to get things disposed thereto ; and never the lesse now wee have no more then two months of faire weather to expect, so that if upon any occasion I were oblidged to delay my march, I might at the same tyme give over the designe for this yeare. I find myself so straitned with the want of provissons, that I must venture forward before I have the assurance of any of our victuallers being about, which is som what contrarie to the maxime of war ; but I truft in the providence of God, and I find that the wind was all wayes good both from the east and west coasts ; and I hop that the provost of Glascow, according to his wounded forwardnesse in this cause, hath a while ago dispached his ship with the 1000 bolls. I had had meal allong with me for a fortnight at Inderlochy, had not the counsell excused such shires as sent out pioneers from furnishing of baggage horses, notwithstanding that the whole number of pioneers got makes but 200. But leaving of complaints, I cum to informe your Grace and Lordships, that notwithstanding I found myself more numberous then any thing the ennemy could oppose to me betwixt Athol and Baidenoch. I chose rather to take my march by Braymar, Strath Don, and Strathdown (who were all in rebellion) into Strathphey, where I gave rendevous to Livingstone with all the forces in the north all moft, except Strathnavers regement, with som men from Balnagowen at Inverneffe, whither I order'd also som of my Lord Strathnavers best men, two troops of hors in the shire of Muray, and five troops of hors and dragouns under the master of Forbes. The rafon that I alter'd my resolutions of forming a body be north Nefse are, that I may have a formidable body of forces together, in case their Majesties fervice required my sudden moving towards the fouth, without expecting a further junctiion, that I may be in a condition to enter into Lochaber by more wayes then one ; if I should beyond my expectation meet with difficulties by the paffe of Glen roy, which is the best that leads in to that countrey, at leaft to make a stronger detachment above it, which is practicable with foot, then the enemies forces can be, and that I am much of the oppinion that the temporising party in the north will not move til

they see the event of this expedition, seeing so many forces in a body for their Majesties service, and ready to fall upon any that should oppose it.

I have order'd three hunder of Balnagowens men (a person well affected and most ready for this intreft and service, and who ought, as such, to be consider'd of the government) to fortifie Inderneffe garifon, whither I dispach'd two troops of hors. I expect also 300 of my Lord Strathnavers men in the said garifon, and I wish my Lord himself were there, to command all, whose qualitie, intreft and zeale for this service, may contribute much to the securitie of that countrey in absence of the forces.

I intreat earnestly that your Grace and Lordships doe not recall me before I have sufficient tyme to fix the garifon at Inderlochy, but that a way may be found to give me often notice of the flate of affairs in the south, whereby I may judge rightly of the measures which are to be taken for the service in generall ; resting confident that nothing shall be neglected whercof my judgment shall be found capable, for the advancement of an intreft to which I have selfdenedyd vowed my pains without any by regardes.

I wish also your Grace and Lordships take into your confideration the losses that necessarily the Laird of Grants countrey shall fountain by this junctiōn of the forces, and to dispach the faid Laird to his countrey, who can easily keep som of his disaffected nighbours in aw, particularly Strathdown, Glenlievet and Strath Don, though I am of opinion that my march with the meffage I fent them may make them see the iſſue before they trouble their nighbours much. The Master of Forbes is allways at great charges and pains for the service, and hath of the countreymen placed garifons over all the shire of Aberdeen where it is needful. I recommend him then earnestly to the confideration of the government, and that a leter of thanks and approbation of his measures, with assurance of reembourſment and reparatiōn of his expences and losſes for the service, be wryt to him ; for ſuch forward persons ought not to labour under discouragements. I reſolve to march tomorrow with 6000 men to Baidenoch, from whence I have but three dayes march to Inderlochy ; I hop my vi&tualls will ſerve

me thither and sorn feu dayes over, and that God the principall author of this happy change for all sincere Protestants, will conduct every thing that conduces to the securitie and advancement of this service.

I have added to the 3 Highland companies in pay 300 men of my Lord Reays countrey, which my nephew, Major of Livingstone hath armed for this expedition, and do expect, with the help of those 600 brisk Highlanders, to be provided of fleshes in Lochaber. I caused pay every thing that was taken for the armie in Strathspey, because of their losses otherwyfe. This is all at present from, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

65. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Inderlochy, the 7th July 1690.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

My Lord Commissioners letter of the 28th June, with a postscript of the 30th, put a stop to the thoughts I had to make a detachment capable to subdue the Iles of Mull and Skye during my abode here, being willing to expect the event of the maritime ingagement which was then expected, to oppose the attempts of the ill affected, if, as God forbid it should fall out cross for us, in as formidable a posture as I can ; and that the rather because I am certain that without more succours for them as we can well apprehend, they must within three or four months beg the peace. Surely their obstinacy deserves a severe treatment, for hitherto, though this be the fyfth day I am in this countrey, none of them hath made any cordiall application as yet, but though I am not ignorant how such fantaſques, whose countrey is now in my reverence should be used, I will rather refer it to the government ; because all that I can doe to a dispersd lurking enemy, the governour of Inderlochy can doe it much more effectually within three months, that is to burn their houses and destroy their corns.

This government may be of great use if it be speedily supply'd with necessars, otherwyse it will turn to nothing ; whatever be don to the rest of the forces, it must at least and ought be pay'd som monlhs by advance, and the governor supply'd with som fond of money, whereby he may be allwyse stored, certainly both officers and souldiers which are left here ought to be incouradged, by providing liberally for them, for the countrey is not very tempting. I woud willingly take my way out of this countrey by the head of Lochneffe, to garison Glengarys hous, if your Grace and Lordships order for my speedy repairing southward doth not determin otherwyse, which wold be more to force him to obedience and submision then for communication, which I judge more effectuall and ready from the weftern partes of the kingdom, so long as those rebels are not brought under intire subjection, as I have no commision from the King or your Grace and Lordships to treat with those obstinat rebels ; and knowing that my Lord Argyll, who is wholly ingadged in their Majesties service and interest is more concerned in such treatis then I am well informed, I willingly wave it, refering the mater to such as know beter his Majesties intentions and his Lordships concern to do the rest ; refing satisfied to put things in that posture, with Gods affistance, that this ennemy shall not trouble us much whatever may fall out more in any other parte of the kingdom.

Buchan, with Dunfermeling and such other low countrey gentlemen as were with them, are gone by the way of Baidenoch, whither further I cannot tell, but not one man of this countrey with them. I suspect they will labour to forme a party in Aberdeenshire, but I question if they find a readyneffe to joyn them so long as I am above them ; however I am resolued to leave this garison in a posture of deffence, to which the speedy arryvall of the plancks, canon and other materialls, wold contribut much. Your Grace and Lordships wold serioufly mynd the speedy suppling of this important poste, from the west, of such necessarays as I sent you a litle of, given up by Colonel Hill, otherwyse all the pains and expences men have been at may prove fruitleffe, which necessarily wold be of ill conse-

quence. I shall forbear to use this obſtinate ennemy according to my judgment and the ordinary pra^tice of war, because as I touched above, the government if diſpoſed thereto can allwayes get it done by the garifon, while I labour only to make them the arbiters of their ennemys lot, which as it allwayes hath been, fo shall it hereafter be in Scotland, the only deſigne of, may it please your Grace and Lordſhips, your Grace and Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

The wrights whose ſtay hath put me ſom dayes behind are at laſt arryved.

66. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Inderlochy, the 10th July, 1690.*

My two laſt leters were to your Grace and counſell, to the end they may lay to heart the ſpeedy ſupplying of this garifon, and now I ſend one of the Commiffarys who ſhall have perticullar dire^tions from Colonell Hill of things to be furnished. I pray your Grace therefore, that it may be reſolved, without any interrupting buſineſſe, and the garifon ſufficiently provided of money and provisions with all diligence, otherwyſe ther will be great grounds to accufe the government of an inexcufable negligence in maters of greateſt importance for the peace and quiet of the kingdome. I have wryt to Arckinlas to intimat to my Lord Argylls chamberlains in Kintire, to ſend butter, cheeſe and what other provisions they can furnish to the garifon, upon the bearers precept, which I oblige myſelf ſhall be payd by the generall receivers upon fight; but though ſuch things may happen to take effect, they muſt not be truſted to; if the garifon be ſupply'd with money it will not want provisions; it muſt not be pay'd be precepts as your other forces but with ready caſh, otherwyſe it ſhall go to wrack.

One wold admire how far our worcks are advanced in three or four dayes, fo that any tyme nixt week in caſe the ſervice required it, I ſhall

be ready to march and leave this fort not only pallissaded round, but most of the worcks at their full highth, and that notwithstanding our men have nothing but meale and water, with now and then a little acquavitie to the workmen. Of all the Pioneers I got but about 150, which I sent home out of Strathispey. Many of our baggage men desert us with their horses, most whereof fall into the hands of the ennemy. If the meale from Glaf-cow and other partes cum not, the garison will be very speedyly reduced to great neceffitie, because of the 2000 bolls arryved, the armie confumes much, having nothing else to eat, for the partys I had out, met with no cattle within 20 miles.

The regement of Angus makes great difficultie to remain here in garifon, which proceeds more of their officers and minister then of the foul-diers. It were very unraifonable to leave any of the strenger forces in such a remote garison, fince if the kingdom happen to turn peaceable, they may and doublefesse shall be speedyly disposed of elsewhere. Your Grace then wold wryt to Lieutenant Colonel Foulerton to signifie that the confidence the government hath in thos men is the rafion they were designed for that garison at first till Lochaber shoule be subdued, which is hoped shall not be long, and then if they be not pleased with their poft, that they shall be releaved by others which may be easilly don by the shire of Ar-gyll; withall if it might be thought fit to send them to Ireland they may be transported as readyly and more compleat from Inderlochy as from the west; however tis very in commode to have men in the service who most needs choose their poft. I confesse I am no admirer of a devotion which doth not teach men their relative duty according to their vocation. I leave here also betwixt 4 and 500 men of Grants regement with som Highlanders. I can not resolve to give the fecond command to the Laird of Weemb fo long as Foulerton shall be here, though I know he might be very serviceable to the garison both as to his intelligence and credit, and that ther is not the least absurditie in the thing, it being very practicable in all countreys; but many men pretends to know that understands very little. I hop things are peaceable in the south fince I get fo feu exprefses

though they may be easilly conveyed through Argylls shire over Dunstaf-fenage. I am much of the oppinion they will have som respect for this body in the midſt of their friends countrey, which certainly this garifon if carefully provided will ſepperat from their party, at leaſt ſo as not to trouble ſo much the reſt of the kingdom hereafter. I ſhall be oblidged to return ſhortly though it were but to leave ſom provisions for the garifon; for neither the meale of Glafcow or Southerland is cum as yet, nor yet a barck which I order'd out of Cathneffe with 400 bolls, nor have we any notice of the two ſhips with the plancks, canon and ammunition. Colonel Hill affiures me that ther moſt be double the number of plancks which was provided, therefor more wold be imediatly ſecured at Glafcow though they ſhould coſt more, and in caſe they be not found there ſent from Lieth as formerly: this wold be don ſpeedyly because the winter drawes neare a pace. I wiſh the canon and ammonition were cum left ſom enemy ſhips miſt com to in commode the garifon before it be well cover'd towards the ſea, which will take tyme. I find the palliſades which I ſent of great ſecuritie for the fort, for here it wold not be poſſible to get any, there being no propre wood within diſtance, and the countrey not lyk to ſubmit till the winter force them. Here is a talk among our ennemys that ſom thing will be undertaken by the Earle of Arran Marques of Athol and others before I return. I do not beleeve it, nevetheleſſe if any ſuſh thing ſhould occur and that any conſiderable numbers from that hand ſhould make head towards me, a motion wold be made from that hand towards Pearth to threaten both Athol and Braid Albins countrey, and your Grace wold labour to give me ſpeedy account of the ſtate of affaires and as often as poſſible. If I can learn of no oppofition in my return, I have thoughts of leaving the Earle of Argylls regement in the ſhires of that name, with which and what he can joyn to it of the ſhires, together with the help of the frigats whose provisions drawes to an end, he can easilly ſubdue Mull this campaigne yet; but if I heare of any allarmes ſoutherly, I will march with all the forces except the garifon, that being of greateſt conſequence. I make no queſtion but ther is account ſent the

King of our progres hitherto againts this ennemy, otherwyse I had labour'd to have don it from here. I recommend earnestly to your Grace the care of this post, which I look upon as the most important of the kingdom at present, and that which will at length make such as wold fell their credit and service at such a deare rait to the King of no greater use nor more necessary to him then a Lauthian or Fif Laird; therefor by no means let it be neglected, though other things should be postponed, but let the person which Hill employes be speedyly dispached back again with the necessary supplies. The rest of the planks may be hade before the first if they happen to cum safly be wrought. The Queen wold be advertised also how maters go. I hope in God, before this tyme that ther shall be good newes both out of Ireland and of the fleet whereof I shall long to be pertaker. I am, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

If I find Angus regement of such an ill humeur that I cannot judge them to be a fure garison, I shall be oblidged to leave a detachment of them and the regiment of Argyll with the companies of Grant which are here, lefft their desrtion of the garison might expone it. If my Lord Argyll had been here, tis very lyk he had received the submision of the men of Mull, except the Laird, before this tyme; but after my return it may bide him a greater tug. I recommend again the buying of the Glafcow frigate for the service of this garison; the Captain of it is much praised by Ferguson for a well affected and diligent man who is also content to continue his command in the governments service.

67. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

Mouillons, betwixt Blaire and Dunkell, the 24th

May it please your Grace, July 1699, at 11 a cloak forenoon.

Yesterday morning I gave your Grace and the Councell account of the approach of the armie from the head of Lochgarry, but the leter was inter-

cepted by one Kinloch, who followed Buchan at Dunkell, as I am informed by people of that town. I left Colonel Hill with his garison well secured and so provided, that speedy measures being taken for his further supply, as the nature of that post seems absolutely to require; he shall not readily have occasion to apprehend any thing which can menace him from the enemy. I got 6 half coulverains from Captain Pottinger, and six small pieces from the ships of burden for him, and left him well eneugh provided of ammunition till he get more by the ships from Lieth; his stock of meale I suppose about 1800 bolls. I left him also 60 fat cowes, 8 barrells of herring, with a good quantitie of the aquavitie, and 500^{lb} Sterling in money, which, considering the wortk which he shall have to make with the number of men, cannot laſte very long; besydes, that post must be provided for a 12 month during the faire weather. This I recommend to the Governments serious consideration, that being a post of that importance, and so difficult to reposseſſe, if lost by negleſt, that no tyme should be lost to have it supply'd with all necessars, both for lodging and ſubfifting, perticullarly of money to pay the garison, and buy bargains of provisions, which wold fave ſhips fraughts after a while; but meale must absolutely be ſent, that being wares not to be had for money there; but other provisions, I ſuppoſe, he may be ſerved of, provided money faile not; that garison ought to be kept in good humour, and capable to ſerve well; they want, and ought preſently to be supply'd of ſurtouts, breeches, ſtockings and ſhues.

Your Grace's leter of the 10th I got but after I was away from Inderlochy, and advanced as far as Badenoch; the tenour wherof, if I had not been accuſtumed much with that fort of language, and known ſomthing more, then haply your Grace can judge of the ſtate of the ennemy, wold allarme me. God doth, in his goodneſſe, wortk for us, otherwyſe ſuch a timourous ſpirit as doth aet this Government wold be capable to expoſe us to the ſcorn of our ennemis, and hinder all progres of the forces. Now, ſince your Grace doth reproach me to have, contraire to your judgement, hazarded the loſſe of the reſt of the kingdom for the conquifh of Inderlochy (which I as well as your Grace wold judge a foolish exchange) being

com this length with the armie, I desyre your Grace may propose in Counsell whether ther be any pressing present service for me in these southern partes, or that otherwys they may be put for 10 or 12 dayes in quarters of refreshment; because the foot hath suffered much by the continuall rains and wroek, and where your Grace and the Counsell judges they should best refresh, and at the same tyme keep the ill affected most in aw. These directions wold be sent me with all speed, being resolued to camp som dayes at Perth till your orders with the Counsells cum to my hand. The Commissarys wold be sent to see the forces want not provisions, having brought nothing from the fort but what the souldiers could conveniently cary, and have been 8 dayes by the way, wherof I rested one in Baidenoch to put a garison at Ruven, with directions to Captain Mackay, with his Highland companie of my Lord Reays men a 100 strong to secure himself with all, which is all at present from, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I shall camp this night at Dunkell. I have no advice of the south since the 12th, by which the Counsell desyred my repair thither.

68. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace,

Perth, the 26th July 1690.

I have received your Grace and Lordships of the 25th, giving account of your calling of som west countreymen to Sterling and Falkirk, which I judge needless, now the armie is cum back again from the Highland expedition; withall they occupy the quarters which I designed for the forces; for now, I suppose, our greatest care must be towards England, if any troubles should occur there during the Kings absence; and Sterling, with the ajacent towns and villages within ten or twelue miles, wold be a fit post to look to both south and north; I judge most of the hors and dra-

gouns which were not in the Highlands ought to be fent north. To keep those low countreys in aw, I had left som of the hors which I had with me, but, because I knew not how I shoulde find maters here being so haf-tyly wryt for, and that they wanted recrutes, I took them all fouth, except Balbavens and Stwarts troops, which lye at Elgin in Muray; and there is no foot now in the north besyde the garifon of Fort William in Lochaber, and Ruven in Baidenoch, but Strathnavers regement at Inderneffe, wherof two companies are lodged at the houſes of Vrquhart and Erchlas. I judge foot in that countrey, during the good weather, not so vſefull as som hors and dragouns, therefor I resolve to fend Jackson north with the three troops which he hath at Sterling, and the troop of hors which is said to be Elphiftons, and then I beleive wee shall be prettie well fecured to that fyde; while we shall have . . . 7 troops of hors, with Livingftons regement of dragouns, a troop of Cardros and the Hors-Gardes, with the three Dutch regements, Sir James Leflies and the Earle of Levens all very good forces, to be ready to march where the service shall moſt require it; and, in cafe of a confiderable landing any where fotherly, whether in England or Scotland, the said body could march towards it, while the weſtern ſhires men might be diſpoſed for the ſecuritie of Forth and the Government, besydes thofe Cunninghams regement will be in prety good condition of ſervice. I have here also 9 companies of the Earle of Argylls regement, with as many of Angus. These forces vpon the Scots repartition will certainly turn to nothing without ſpeedy ſupply of money; and I admire to vnderſtand no meaſures have been taken all this while to furnish them.

The money for the garifon of Fort William muſt be fent the Governoūr, and not comprehended in the precepts of the regements to whom they belong; and ſpeedy care wold be taken for to get that poſt supply'd of all neceſſaries during the fine weather, and the Laird of Grant ſpocken to to agree with the Commissarys for deals and other wood to be order'd by him ſpeedyly to Ruven; together with a numbre of wrights for the accommodation of that houſe for a garifon of a 100 foot and 20 dragouns, which will be of great ſervice to keep the countrey below in peace, whereof

Grants is one to be benefitted thereby ; meanwhile, by the order I left, the garison is secured against ennemy attempts. This is all at present from, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

69. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

Pearthe, the 28th July 1690.

Having examined the state of the forces, I find that the fickneſſe which began to infect them at Inderlochy or Fort William doth increase, viz. the bloody flux, ſo that if we expeſt more ſervice of them for this running faion, ther is a neceſſitie to lay them for a little tyme in quarters, of reſraifhment, which I have accordingly order'd ſo neare, that in a day moft of them can be together. They are diſpoſed as follows : my regement at Ster-ling, Ramſay at Lithgow, Leflie at Falkirk, Angus and Kenmore at Bo-rowſtoune and aſcents, Livingſton at Killſeith ; the fix troops of hors in the villages about Sterling, Argyll and Lauder at Pearth, and Glenkairn ſomwhere therabout, as the Commanding Officer of that parte of the forces which marches now to Sterling ſhall informe himſelf, that it may be accommodat, becauſe now that I have got ſom biftet from Dundee I take Livingſton's Dragons, four troops of hors and fix hundert commanded foot to look after thoſe people that are infeting the country. I have ſent orders to Jackfon to march northward with his three troops of dragons which ly about Sterling, becauſe that the Rebels having got ſom hors together, they may, with the help of the brocken Highlanders, be uneaſie for the party wee have there, and whatſever may fall out in the ſouth, the north ought to be ſo well cared for that the ennemis may have no footing in the low country. It were fit that ſuch of our party as are north country men, and have intreſt to raiſe men, were ſent thither, among whom chiefly

my Lord Strathnaver and the Laird of Grant ; for it is not the question of Protestants divided in court party and club, but of Protestants and Papists, now when our ennemis maine or only expe&ctations are from France, so that whosoever is not zealous in such a cause, with all the self deniednesse which our religion requires, can hardly expe&ct the advantages which it promises, only to such as seek first the kingdom of heaven, and for the rest deppend upon Gods providence to have it added to them.

I have often prest that Fort William be cared for tymely, and that the forces be furnished with money to put them in case to do the service, for surely the Kings money ought not to be spairet to loose his service, for in cash upon occasion it cannot help much but in well composed forces ther is a prospet at least humanly of securitie whatever may fall out.

I could wish ther were present order given for 11 or 1200 surtouts for the garison of Fort William, the men being ill cloathed for the approaching cold wet saison ; plaidin weft coats wold doe well also ; for shuies and stockins ther hath been a memorandum given to a certain Commissary Depput called Cambell, who is ordained to attend the said fort ; shirts wold not be forgot also, the said monting can be found of their retention money, and cost nothing but the credit making to the government.

Your Grace and Lordships would consider that it is an unsupportable burden for me to have the care of all those things, for tis impossible for me to exercise my thoughts effectually how to dispose the forces to the most advantage of the service, if I be obliged to give directions for and solicit all things, thay may be found requisit for the perticullar detail and oeconomie of them ; therefor to make the service go well on, it ought to be made as easie for any who happen to have the chief command of the forces as possible, otherwyse he shall necessarly negle&ct the chief parte and end thereof, which is to contrive how to make use of them to the most advancement of the service. Your Grace and Lordships therefor wold establish the Committie of war which I proposed, to inspect the leters and propositions which I have wryten and hereafter may happen to make or wryt, that no delay be made in things essentiell for the present service and

juncture, for though I have the designe and will, I thank God for it, good and found in this mater, my spirit and body cannot support the weight of all, and necessarily many things most be neglected if I should be charged therwith, which are the present thoughts of, may it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

70. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it please your Grace, *Sterling, the 30th July 1690.*

Prefently I had your Graces of the 28th instant ; I am much of opinion more might be don for the subsistance of the forces and supplying other insidants of the service, but where the neglect lyes I cannot tell ; certainly it will discover it self at laft ; I make no maner of doubt but the garifon in Lochaber will be prefently waikned except speedyly supply'd, not only of provisions, but of money to incourage the men ; for as they muft do the reft of the work they expe&t to be pay'd. Whatever others may think, I am of oppinion that it is the moft importanteft poft of the nation as wee are now ftated ; there was not a taile of all thofe Highlanders with Canon and Buchan of I am fure 4000 that at laeft wold appeare in the feeld at this tyme, if thofe measures had not been taken, which nevtheleffe flood betwixt *cinqu* and *fyce* whether it ſhould or not. Canon, to my certain knowledge, had not 50 hors, very badly mounted and armed, and no foot but fuch as were of the theeves of Ranuch, Buchoider and Brays of Monteith, before Buchan joynth him, of whom not one hath followed him north, nor have they joynth him but to rob and fteale under his name, fo that it was a disgrace to the forces to let him do ſuch diſorders fo neare four troops beſyde foot, wherof ſom might be choſen for a detachment. I march'd after them till neare the Weemb, but I found that they were ad-vanced to the north. I wold not therfor venture to go fo far out of the way, not knowing what newes might be out of England. My Lord

Cardros is gone out, when the ennemy was ods of 30 mile from him, and is now out of the way when my orders for Jackson came here to march north in all diligence. I wish with all my heart som of the Lords were accommoded otherwyse, and left those charges which requires fervile attendance to such as wold wait upon them. I intend tomorrow for Edinbrugh, when I shall have directed the rest of the forces to quarters; tis pleasant that the Lords of Counsell wold have an armie kept together without money, fourage or provisions. It makes me think upon a drol saying of Colonel Hills, that because peoples rents in this countrey were mostly pay'd in meale, they judged meal wold answere every thing. I wonder what Sir George Monro does, for if he cannot help the government to som directions as to the taking som meausures for the forces, he is not lyck to be very usefull, except it be to contredit me, which I beleeve can hardly passe for service worth a pension, since I beleeve the government is perswaded I designe well to it. I wrot to your Grace and the Counsell from Pearth 3 dayes ago, which I wish may be consider'd, which is all at present from, may it please your Grace, your Graces most humble and most obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

I take the libertie to recommend to your Grace Pottingers letter to the Commissioners of the Navy. You will fee by his letter to me that he and Douglas are on their way to Greennock to be revictwalled. I shall wryt to him to cum speack with your Grace.

71. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Brechen the 17th Agust, 90.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

At my arryvall this length I am informed that the rebels are past the hills of the Karne mounth, and that they were strong in hors, for all the

gentry and men of qualitie in the north do joyn them, such as the Lords Fraifer and Innerurie, Sir Peter Friser the Laird Meldrum and the shirif deput of the Mearnes with severall others. I am extreamely at a non plus for want of provisions it being impossible to follow the enemy, and as impossible without following them close to know their motions, the countreys being generally so ill affected. Those difficulties which is only occasioned by the want of order for providing the forces, do render me incapable to take any fure mesures, for though the rebels seem by the way I am informed that they are gone over the Kairne month to bend towards the north, it might happen to be to the brayes of Mar and so to Athol and trouble the government considerably. I find if they know to take mesures with the adherence they have in the north countreys, and expect in the south, together with the body of hors they have together, and the disorders of our payment and provisions and the bade case of the Scots forces, that they may creat som trouble to the government. My oppinion then is, that the west countrey men might be advertif'd to be in readynesse that is som competent numbers of them to march to Sterling in case those men should take their way to the south, as also to Edinbrugh to secure the government that the forces may be all gather'd to a body betwixt Sterling and Pearth. If I find that they have taken the way to the south, I shall make a detachment of three troops of Livingstons dragouns thither, while I must of neccesitie fall down towards Aberdeen to be provided of provisions as well as to joyn Jackfon and the Master of Forbes, though it seem light to som men to move with forces to and fro and observe the ennemys I cannot see through it ; for all allong the countrey there is nothing to be had, not so much as a boll of meale. If now the Highlanders of Lochaber were joyned they might give us worck eneugh, for my parte I do not understand all this worck. At Edinbrugh every malicious tongue censures all that is don by such as sacrifices all their intrest, contentment and rest, for their peace and wellfaire while they themselves do not touch the wight of maters so much as with their finger ; at least let men be so juste as to lay the blame where it ought to lye,

which certainly if ther be any is in the government, which ought to finde fom posseble way to have the service don. I fent fom men for intelligence after them, and I am to march this night to Fetterkairne, and if they be gone north shall march down the Mearns towards Aberdeen, to be provided of vi&ctualls, and if they go up Mar I know thosē countreymen will not go with them to the south, I mean their foot, and in that case I shall either make detachments to the north and return with fom of the forces south or send fom of them south and stāy to setle the north a little ; for as yet I know no certain resolution to be followed before I get further intelligence, of which I shall give your Grace and Lordships account ; only I wish you had a man more acceptable to you, to whom you wold give your affistance more cordially, but men ought to have care that the maters service be not hazarded out of prejudice to the servant. I do earnestly recommend the care of the garison of Fort William, which if not tymly provided may be of bade consequence. This all at present from, May it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships most humble and most obedient servant,

H. MACKAY.

I order'd the Commissarys to send a deput or two allong with me but it seems they forgot it, as I am affray'd many other things will be. An order shoule be fent to Captain Pottinger to make the best of his way to the coast of Lochaber and the Illes, and my oppinion is, sincē the garison at Fortwilliam may happily be waikned for want of necessars, orders might be given that the governour might at any tyme call for 300 well appointed men out of Argylls shire to help to make inroads upon the Lochaber men in case any of them shoule offer to joyn any more with the other rebels ; but all deppends upon a faisnable disposition of maters, the necessarys for that garison and other things requiring dispach, ought to be constantly pleyed till it were dispach'd and not deppend upon the foliciation of officers.

72. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My LORD,

Inderneffe, the 29th August 1690.

This day I received your Lordships of the 23d instant. I was continually moving since I wrot from Brechein to my Lord Commissioner and the Counsell, and had little or nothing to advyse, except a litle rencontre betwixt Inverey and a party of hors and dragouns under my nephew Major Mackay, which I commanded out to attack him in a very rough and steep ground, which imbolden'd him to approach my march very neare, where allmost all his men were killed and taken prisoners, and he himself strangely escaped, after he was under the hors feet, and thought dead by the pursuers, whereof I wrot the perticulars to the Secretary at War, which, no doubt, he communicated. I was oblidged, before the junctiōn of the forces which lay at Aberdeen, to stet a fyde for the relief of the garison of Aber-geldie, which was blockt up, and wold have been lost within three dayes, had it not been tymely succour'd; and to terrifie others from the lyke attempts, I burnt 12 miles of a very fertile Highland countrey, at leaſt 12 or 1400 houses, but had no tyme to go up the length of Braymar, being willing to follow the ennemy to the north, or elfwhere he shoud direc \mathfrak{t} his march, it being impossible for me, in thoſe rebellious countreys, to get any ſure intelligence of him; ſo that to be ſure of him again, I judged expedient to leave the foot behinde me, and follow with the hors and dragouns with all the diligence they could be capable of; and if they had not had the countrey, even in Muray, more to their friend then I, I had gone prety neare to a furpryfed them befyde Inverneffe, where they did not expe \mathfrak{t} me ſo ſoon, and waited for the Earle of Seafort, with all his men, who were, and for ought I know, are yet at a head, as well low as high countreymen; but upon the advertisement of my approach, the rebells retired up by the north fyde of Lochneffe to the Highlands, and the Earle ſent me two gentlemen of his name, ſignifieing that he was oblidged in

honour to make some appearance for King James, but had no designe to a troubled the Government, nor to a joyn'd with Buchan, offering sureté for his peaceable behaviour in tymes cumming ; to which I returned answser, that without loofing any longer tyme in debating about his designe, I was to walck by what occur'd to my judgement, and left his Lordship his choice of one of two, either to see his countrey enter'd by fire and fword, or delyver up his person prisoner into my hands, to be kept in civill custody till the Government should dispose otherwyse, or sent south, according to his choice. I am expecting that his mother, who was with me yesterday, and his low countrey kinsmen, who render'd themselves now by this last step guilty, will labour to dispose his Lordship to the later, which I am willing they do also, rather then be obliged to proceed to rigour, which nevertheless I am resolvled to do, judging it the service, if he do not agree to the former.

Upon Buchans retreat toward the head of Lochness, judging he might have som hops of succour from the Clans, I called up a parte of the foot, viz. our three Dutch battaillons (with Kenmores debris, which I intend to lodge at Inderness) to be in condition to pouffe them in all sort of grounds, and if they from the head of Lochness passe by the braes of Badenoch toward the south, I shall labour to be as speedyly after them as I can with the inconveniences I meet with, by the forces wanting of money and victualls ; for though they had their precepts they had no tyme to get money for them. I have dispach'd an expres to Coloncl Hill to labour for good intelligence of what pases in Lochaber in favour of the rebels, that he may lay hold upon the occasion to chafise them if they should go out in such numbers that his partys can securely interpryse upon the rest. I have wayes lay'd down ypon all hands to be speedyly advertil'd of their motions, and be able to follow them in case they march your way ; mean while tis my oppinion the fix troops of hors with the gardes be lodged in a body, and my battaillon out of Sterling, with Sir James Lesslies regement and Lauders from St Johnston, be drawen also together to Dumblain and Down, and that of Angus sent to Sterling, being certain that the forsaid

hors, with the three battaillons, are forces eneugh for Buchan's, with any thing that can joyn him out of Lochaber, considering the neccesary effect of the garison of Fort William, or that Ramsay may affist my Lord Drumlanrig, (who, by raison of the junctiōn of the troop of gardes, shoud fall to command the said body,) his bataillon could be joyn'd from Dundee in place of Lauders. This I propose to be don in tyme, because the rebels wold otherwyse have tyme to trouble the countrey before those forces could be drawn together; for, if they be hunted from hand to hand, the tenderly bred countrey lords and lairds will soone weary of it, and disperse if otherwyse no catch can be had of them. In this magasin of Inderneſſe, ther is not 80 bolls of meale at preſent, therefor the Commissarys ought to be order'd imediately to put meale in store at Inderneſſe, Aberdeen and Montros, there being already fom store of meale and bisket at Dundie, which lyes also convenient for Pearth, if need were, to cary it thither. This leter your Lordſhip ſhall be pleafed to communicaſt to my Lord Comiſſioner and the Lords of Counſell, to have their approbation, whether they think fit to have thofe direcſions followed or not. After to-morrow I ſhall be at a point with the Mackenzies, and if there be rigour in the caſe let them blame themſelves; for I am perſuaded the deſigne was lay'd to joyn Buchan, and for their firſt interpryſe to labour to cary Inderneſſe, if my ſpeedy motion had not prevented them. I have advertiſed my Lord Reayes countrey and Balnagowen to be in readyneſſe to fall in the ajanent parts of the Earle of Seaforts countreys to them in caſe they ſhould joyn the other rebels, ſo, whatever ſhould cum of the reſt, they wold quickly paſſe their tyme ill if they ſhould oppiniatre. This is all I have to ſay at preſent, being, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient ſeruant,

H. MACKAY.

73. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Inderneffe, the 1 Septembre 1690.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

At the wryting of my last account to the Earle of Leven, which was to be communicated to your Grace and Lordships, the Comteſſe Dowager of Seaforth was here, together with the Laird of Coule, and a leter from the Earle (to whom his kinsmen gives the title of Marqueſſe now) affuring me that he ſhould agree to ſuch conditions as ſhould be concluded betwixt them and me, which was that the Earle ſhould give over his perſon in my hands to be kept in civill detention at Inderneffe till your Grace and Lordships ſhould further determin of him ; and that he might appeare the more excusable to thoſe of the other party, my nephew, Major of Livingston, was to make a faſhion of furpryſing him at Chanrie one of his houſes ; but inſtead of keeping his agreement, his Lordſhip and his mother wrote leters ſhowing that the condition of his health could not beare with imprisonment, as if a lodging at Inderneffe, with the liberty of the free air in compagnie of the Commanding Officer, or ſuch as he ſhould appoint were more contrarie to his health then the hills allready in this countrey covered with ſnow. Upon this inſincere dealing I diſpatched orders to Southerland, Strathnaver and Balnagowen, to gather of their Highlanders the mater of a 1000 men, to whom I joyn'd Major Wiſhart with two hunder of Strathnavers regement to command them with a commission, whereof I ſend herewith your Grace and Lordships a copie, and I am affiured they will make their campaigne coſt thoſe men deare eneugh, for ther is no other way to deale with them or bring them to raiſon, as may be ſeen by the late exemplē of Strathdee, which, for 12 miles of the beſt Highland countrey in Scotland, hath been totally burnt to aſhes ; and now thoſe who wold never here of delyvering up their armeſ heretofore brings them all in upon oath with certiſcation, that with

whom any armes shall be found thereafter shall dye without mercy ; for I had left order to permit none to rebuild but by delyvering up their armes and fwearing allegiance to their Majesties. I beleeve it shall fare so with the Earle of Seaforth, that is, that he shall haply submit when his countrey is ruined and fpoyled, which is the character of a true scotsman, wyls behinde the hand. However, I have hunted people ready for the prey at his Highlands, and shall take a word of his low countreys with my hors and dragouns, now the foot is cum up to secure this place behind me ; for I can see no securitie for the government to leave such a countrey and people lying ready to catch at all occasions to trouble it (as it hath now sufficiently appeared) in a condition to do us harme, therefor your Grace and Lordships may be freely persuaded that I take my measures by what I judge to tend to the establishment of the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and not by humour or prejudice, having resolved at this tyme to treat rudely all that I should finde in armes and none els : Witneffe Strathdon, Strathdown and Glenlivet, which I paſt without doing them the leaſt harme, because they had not joyn't Buchan, and were all in their countrey as I paſt ; tis true that the Earle of Seaforth offered me his kinsmen securitie for his peaceable deportment, but 'tis as true they had all ſecur'd the peace before, and yet joyn'd with the faid Earle at this tyme ; I leave then to your Grace and Lordships to judge of what value ſuch a ſecuritie of kinsmen for a Highland chief can be to the government.

If, in the meantyme, Buchan with his party paſſe over the hills to the fouth, I ſhall leave a ſufficient force here to execute my orders againſt this new ſtart up ennemy, while I ſhall follow that other as ſpeedyly as I can, and if the combined Highlanders ſhould venture ons more (as I do not much apprehend) to cum out, except it be by connivance of ſmall detachments, I have force eneugh to oppoſe them all with Gods affiſtance, only I am extremlly put to it for want of money and provisions, there being no meale here in magafin. I do not know whether it be a worck of creation to get neceſſarys furniſh'd for the promotion of the ſervice in this kingdom, but ſure I am it is a worck of no ſmall vexation to ſerve without it ; I

shall never repyne at my pains, or any thing els I can contribut to your peace and quiet, without the leaſt deſigne which any iuſte and impartiall man can call my own, in all your maters, nay, I ſhall willingly beare with the malicious miſconſtructions of my ennemys ſo be I may fee but a way to bring things (by the proviſe of him who hath called me to this unpleaſant piece of ſervice) to that paſſe, that the peaceable ſtate of the kiŋdom may make me hop to make way for ſome other whose circumſtances might render it more gratefull to him then it can be to me; but I confeſſe that it is a great temptation to be expoſed to ſo many diſculties, toyſes and vexations, by the continual complaints of the forces and their ill humoure (which ought to be as carefully avoided, perticullarly in ſuch a war as this, as men wold defyre to receive good ſervice of them and give no advantage to the ennemy) and inſtead of acknowledgning mens sincere indeavours over the belly of thwarting practiſes of others, to load them with injuries, as it hath been my own caſe after my late expedition of Lochaber. But whatever prejudices men in the government may have for the perſon, if they be publick ſpirited men, for the confeſſion fake they will acknowledge the ſervices. Your Grace and Lordſhips will have the goodneſſe to pardon this digreſſion, because I am ſufficiently convinced that men take the liberty to ſpeak of my conduſt no leſſe ignorantly then maliciouſly.

My laſt newes of Buchan was, that he marched towards Lochaber; if the Highlanders give him ſuccour it ſhall not be fo ſoon but his hors may cum to ſuffer notably before they gather; I have lodged myn ſince the change of the weather within the town; if they cum back to joyn the mater of 800 men that Seaforth hath together, I have foot eneugh now neare to march to them in any ground where I can meet them: this poſt is propre for obſervation, feeing the Mackenzies are in the play, becauſe here I can obſerve their motions either to the north or ſouth, but if ons our Highland hunters be abroad they will make a break among Seaforths party if I be not miſtakēn, otherwylle they are not of the nature of other Highlanders.

I have borrowed a 100^{lb} sterlign for som of the Scots troops of hors and dragoons, which wanted from the town of Inderneffe, for which the receivers wold be order'd to fend a precept upon their Colector there for repayment, that my bond may be releaved, as also to fend an order to all Colectors in the North for the payment and acceptance of such precepts as their Deput Commissarys or an officer commanding in chief shall draw upon them for provisions for the forces, when in a body at least.

It is my oppinion, if your Grace and Lordships wold give the Earle of Argyll the 18 companies of his oun and the Earle of Angus's regement, that he wold not only quickly render himself master of Mul, but also help to make a considerable diversion of the ennemys numbers during the said march and expedition, because his march to Argyllshire and raifing of that countrey wold keep all the men of Lochaber at home, though otherwyse they shoule be of oppinion som of them might venture out notwithstanding of the garifon : Meantyme the Earle might be helped to his own, and the forces be as usefully employ'd there as any other where, for ought I know at present, it being certain that if any considerable ennemy march that way, I shall not give them tyme to do much harme before I be after them, though notwithstanding any measures I can take for intelligence, being so far distant from me, they can have the start of a day or two's march before me ; but if it should not be found good to give him Angus's with his own regement, (or rather parte of it), that he may have the 4 companies of Glenkairns which are out of garifon, if they be in any condition to do service ; or rather, laſtly, his own 9 companies with 50 men out of every one of the other five battaillons, and 50 of the beſt of thoſe four companies forſaid, making 300 men, which with his own, ſuppoſing 400 eſſectives, and the men of the ſhire, may do the buſineſſe, without waikning fo thoſe bodys but they'll do the ſervice as well as otherwyſe. The Earle to my knowledge is at expenſes to prepare for this expedition ; therefor, 'tis my oppinion, without ſom raifons which I do not know to the contrarie, he ought not be disappointed, ſince at the ſame tyme it is the King's ſervice alſo to ſubdue thoſe ennemys.

I have fent all wayes to look out for meale, but I fear it will be difficult to be got this fyde Aberdeen in any quantitie; therefor the Lords of Theflurie ought to give present orders to have this garifon furnished with a 1000 bolls from Aberdeen by sea, as also to have a magazin there and at Montros, as I wrot to the Earle of Leven in my last, the want of which lost me two dayes when I marched last through Angus.

I hop your Grace and Lordships have not neglected to have Fort William supply'd, the weather becomming cold. If deals be not fent in sufficient quantitie the service may cum to loofe by it. I only put you in mynd of it, being none of my care; what is wryt by me or others intrusted with any directions of the service ought to be prefently confider'd, and what is found necessary preſently resoluteſ and order'd or it be lay'd aſyde in the clerck's hands, it being otherwyſe ſubjeſt through forgetfulneſſe to delays, which occations all the diſorders of this ſervice, and could have been prevented by forming the commy which I propoſed in the begining of ſummer before I went to the fields. The Fraſers keep themſelvies very quiet, and I am affuſed by one Allexander Chieſolm, Shirif-deput of Inderneſſe, that they will not countenance this ennemy at any rate. My Lord Lovet would be ſpoken to, to make the ſaid Chieſolm baillie as he hath been formerly, being an active perſon, and for ought I can learn, well inclined. This is all I can aduife at preſent, being, May it please your Grace and Lordships, your Grace and Lordships moſt humble and moſt obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

74. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Inderneſſe, the 2d Septembre, 1690.

May it please your Grace and Lordships,

This day I have aduis that Buchan and Canon, with their hors are paſt from the head of Lochneſſe to the Braes of Lochaber, whereby I gueſſe,

since they finde no disposition in the Clans to joyn them, except it be som few loose fellowes upon the hop of plunder, that they shall take their way towards the Braes of Badenoch, and so into Braemar or Perthshire. I advertif'd a while ago that there shoulde be a body there composed of the hors with three battaillons of the foot, lodged so contigously together that they may upon the first advertisement march to them, it being certain our hors allone there are capable to beat them; but as long as it can be don, and leſt they get som foot together as they march through thoſe Highlands, it shall be beſt and ſafeſt to joyn the forſai'd foot to them. Such a motion might caſt them my way, at leaſt if they be ſom what tolled from hand to hand they will grow thiner, and whoſoever hath kept himſelf from them hitherto will hardly now joyn them. My foot (without which I cannot well march through the hills after them) is ſo haraffed, and wants money and proviſions at that rait, that I am affray'd I cannot make uſe of them for ſuſh a march; however I ſhall do what I can if the march of the ennemy be not too fulden. If I had Seafort and his people ſecured I ſhould be at more liberty as to the reſt. By this tyme I am in expeſtation that the Kings ſpeedy return will quiet the ill humours in the fouth, ſo that theſe in rebellion ſhall not have many more to joyn them, and if it were to be don over again, I am perſuaded they wold take it to conſideration who joyn'd them laſt, and as perſuaded if they be ply'd hard that they'll diſminiſh dayly. I had a leter from Colonel Hill by an expres I ſent him, ſigniſieing that they begin to want deals for the worck, and longs extreamly for the cloathes and money for the ſouldiers, the weather being all ready prety cold perticullarly at nights, otherwyſe his garifon is hearty and well pleaſed with his way. I have ſent him orders to be briſk in caſe thoſe people ſhould be ſo foolish as to ingadge again, but he ſeems not much to apprehend it; his fortifications are well nigh compleat. I recommend earneſtly to your Grace and Lordſhips the caſe of that poſt, which ſerves us now for no ſmall uſe, and ſhall be the greateſt ſecuritie of the peace of any poſt in the kingdom if kept in good condition. He complains of neither fickneſſe nor deſerſion, and praifes much Grants Major of whom he hath great help. I am of

oppinion it ought be seen what way the ennemy turns before the detachment I propofed for the fubdueing of Mull be fent of, which I fuppoſe may be ſeen in a feu dayes. This is all at preſent from, May it pleaſe your Grace and Lordſhips, your Grace and Lordſhips moſt humble and moſt obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

75. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Old Meldrum, the 8th Septembre 1690.

Suppoſing your Lordſhip at Pearth, if the ennemy be in the nighbored, I diſpatch'd this by a labal, to know from that place, as the neareſt quarter of our troupes, if Ramsay be drawn out, what paſſes in that fhire. Having underſtood by a leter from the counſell that the rebeſſes were fallen down to the brayes of Monteith and Bochoider, I left the north as far as Inderneſſe well ſecured, as I do Aberdeenshire, and in-tends ſouthward with Livingston's dragoons; therefor be pleaſed to fend an officer expreſs to meet me upon the way of Brechen and Forfare, to let me know the lateſt motion of the ennemy, and what forces Drumlanric hath together, and whereabout they are at preſent. Your Lordſhip may fend this to the counſell, to the end they may know where I am, which is all at preſent from, My Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble and obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

76. MAJOR-GENERAL MACKAY TO THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Forfar the 15th Septembre 1690.

Since my laſt to the Earle of Leven, I have nothing to advyſe, but that I order'd Sir James Leslie to Sterling, to releeve Argyll and 2 companies of Angus's, the 2 of Glenkairnes which lay at Drumond Caſtle, with the

rest of Angus's to Dumblain, ther being no need of so many forces as Drumlanrig had by him against the ennemy that appeares in the feelds at preuent, whom I order'd to keep my battaillon and that of Ramsay together with the hors for som dayes yet till wee heare further of those sculckers, which I heare looses of their number dayly. I sent to Blair Athol to have what that officer knowes, and order'd Drumlanrig to fend to the Weemb, Finlarig, and the castle of Drumond, for inteligence. I order'd Colonel Cunningham to Braemar, withthe 6 troops of hors and dragoons which he hath by him, and 600 of his best foot, to disarme or burn Invereyes countrey and all Brae mar, which I had no time to effectuat when I went north; and my oppinion is, the braes of Monteith, Bochwither, and other highlands thereabout ought to be treated the same way; but fince it is so neare the government, I would not order it without their good finding. I make a halt here with Livingston's dragoons, and a battaillon of Laudertills. I know somthing of the ennemys, because I ly so much upon my way if they shoule turn to Aberdeenshire. This is all I have to advyse at preuent, being, May it please your grace, your grace's most humble and most obedient fervant,

H. MACKAY.

Ther ought to be speciall care taken to get a fet of honest men in ma-jeftature of Aberdeen, for which ther is a good occasion, as my Lords Cardros and Balhaven can informe your grace, which by no means ought to be neglecded, it being of great confequence for the securitie of the peace in the north, that that town be in good hands.

77. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO THE KING.

May it please your Majestie, *Edinb^r the 16 October, 1690.*

As the success of your Majesties armes and magnanimous expedition in your kingdom of Ireland, hath defeated all the desigues of fuch who were

equally enemies to your Majestie and the Protestant religion, and farr advanced the peace of that nation, so God hath lykwayes been pleased to bleſſ the conduct of your affairs and forces in this kingdom with ſuch iſſue againſt the obſtinat rebels of the nation ; that ſome of the chieff of them being diſappoyned of there vain expeſtationes and conſcious of ther own guilt and deſervings, have, and wee believe many more will render themſelves prisoners and ſubmitt to your Majesties mercie ; and Wee haveing no iſtructiōne from your Majestie how ſuch as ſhall ſo ſurrender themſelves ſhould be treated, whither by makeing them prisoners in the ordinarie goals, keeping them under guards, or ſetting them at libertie upon ſurety and baill, to appear when your Majestie ſhall ſignifie your pleaſure about them, doe in all humilitiy beg your Majestie would be pleased to tranſmitt your commands to us herein, that all due obedience may be given to them.

The Lord Inverurie, eldeſt ſon to the Earle of Kintor, haveing been ingadged for ſome ſhort ſpace with the rebels, to his fathers great greiff and afiſtion, who had alwayes no leſſ detaſtatione to any thing might tend to the leaſt diſloyaltie then abhorrence at this cryme in his ſon, which ſome of our own number were eye witneſes off, hath now rendered himſelf priſoner to the government and abſolutely caſt himſelf upon your Majesties mercie, without any condition or reſerve whatſoever. The Councill have thought fitt to keep him conſyned under a guard, until your Majesties pleaſure be knownen how he ſhould be diſpoſed off, being the firſt that hath offered in this manner a return to his duty, as he was among the laſt who departed from it.

The Earle of Argyle in proſecutione of the Councill's commands for endeavoring to reduce the rebels of ſome of the Iiles and places adiacent, being lyke (iſ he were iuſtified with a power,) to have occaſione of treatiſg with ſome of the chieff of theſe rebels, about the particuſars contained in a letter ſent by him to Major Generall Mackay for the Councill's orders how to deſtine himſelf towards them thereiſ, Wee have thought it our duty to tranſmitt that letter with a coppie of the articles of the Surrendar

of the Castle of Islandstalker, to the Secretary of State for this kingdom, to be communicat to your Majestie, that your orders to us therein may direct what furder instructiones wee shall give to the Earle in that matter.

Major Generall Mackay hath frequently moved, that a constant committie of councill might be named to fitt twice a week or oftner, to consider and determin in such matters as relate to the carieing of the warr, or ordering your Majesties forces within this kingdom in such particulars as are not proper to be communicat in open Councill before expediting therof, or of such particulars as cannot allow of the delay of Councill meetings and debaites of a full board, and in all other things, not to proceed without first makeing report to the Councill, and being subiect to and receiving commands from them; which wee judged our duty to lett your Majestie know, that your Majestie might make such nominatione, and give such commands in this particular, as in your Royall wisdom, your Majestie shall think fitt. We are, May it please your Majestie, your Majesties most humble, most loyall and faithful subiects and servants.

MORTON.	CRAFURD.
	SOUTHERLAND.
	STAIR.
H. MACKAY.	C. CAMPBELL.
JOHN HALL.	C. CAMPBELL.
	ARC. MURRAY.
	RO. SINCLAIR.

To the King,

In relation to the Prisoners.

78. THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO LORD MELVILL.

My Lord,

Edinbr. the 16 October 1690.

The fate of the rebels in the highlands becomeing desperat, hes oblidged severall of the cheiff of them, such as the Lords Innerurie, Frazer and others, to render themselves prisoners, and submitt to his Majesties

mercie. This, with what has occurred to the Earle of Argyle in his expeditione against the Ifles, occaſioned ſeverall motions to be made at the board anent theſe particulars, which were concluded in a letter to his Majeftie, which letter, with a copy therof, and the Earle of Argyles originall letter to Major Generall Mackay, and a coppie of the articles of the furrendar of Iſlanſtaker are herewith tranſmitted to your Lordſhip, to be delivered and communicat to his Majeftie, with your firſt conuenience; earneſtly entreating that your Lordſhip may uſe your intereſt with his Majeftie for a ſpedie and particular anſwear, that none of his Majefties affaіrs depending hereon may be retarded. We are, my Lord, your Lordſhips moſt humble ſervants,

MORTON.	CRAFURD.
	SOUTHERLAND.
	STAIR.
H. MACKAY.	C. CAMPBELL.
JOHN HALL.	C. CAMPBELL.
	ARC. MURRAYE.
	Ro. SINCLAIR.

*For the Right Honorable the Earle
of Melvill, ſole Secretary of State
for the Kingdom of Scotland,
London.*

In relation to the Prisoners.







